THE CHINESE SPY;

OR,

EMISSARY from the Court of PEKIN,

Commiſſioned to examine into

THE PRESENT STATE OF EUROPE.

Tranſlated from the CHINESE.

In SIX VOLUMES.

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THE PREFACE.

THE public, perhaps, may expect a preface in commendation of the following ſheets; but our age has a more certain and expeditious method of determining literary merit. At the firſt appearance of a work, it is the cuſtom of many, barely on caſting an eye on the title-page, to ſay, That's traſh, and throw it down; or they affirm it to be a good performance, and peruſe it.

I ſhall not preſume to conteſt the privilege which every man has to open or ſhut this book: if it hits the public taſte, it will be read; if it does not, I ſhall be under no concern to ſee it neglected.

The Chineſe who wrote theſe letters met with me at Port l'Orient,

where I happened to be at their landing: they made me handſome offers to accompany them in their travels through Europe, being ſent by their court to inquire into the preſent ſtate of this part of the globe.

In the courſe of our travels, I found means to come at a great number of their letters, which I here publiſh. So much for the hiſtory of the book: as to myſelf, the reader will be pleaſed to indulge my ſilence. Should I be known, it might poſſibly ſpoil the plan of the work: the cry would be, He write about religion, manners and morality! he who in his other writings ſays never a word in regard to any ſuch ſubject, and who ſeems to have put forth a book only to abuſe the French miniſtry! Such reflections the critics never fail to vent, as requiring no great effort of genius.

Thus

Thus I am here little more than a tranſlator; the moſt knotty part of my labour has been in the mechaniſm of the book; for beſides adapting theſe letters to our manners, I have cleared them of a certain claſſical gravity, and the lumber of Chineſe ceremonial, as it muſt have been extremely diſguſtful to an European reader.

Some commentators, fond of centering every thing within themſelves, would have compared all theſe letters, have combined them together, have put thoſe of the middle at the end, at the beginning thoſe which were in the center, and inverted the whole diſpoſition of them, and thus have given the public a very pretty Chineſe romance. I have proceeded otherwiſe; for with all my fondneſs for letters, I deteſt books; plan, diviſion, order, and the whole mechaniſm of a work, are quite foreign from my genius.

I publiſh

I publiſh theſe letters juſt as they were written; if they contain any thing good, it will be met with in the peruſal; if otherwiſe, no order that I could have given them would have made them better, nor conſequently have been of any uſe.

Travellers who write, do not ſet down things in preciſe order, but as they ſee them. This variety, being nature itſelf, is preferable to art, the ſlave of rule and method.

Another inconveniency in theſe letters is, that in ſome the ſubject is treated of pretty much at large, whilſt, in others, it is as it were only delineated. This, however, a dexterous tranſlator would have been at no loſs to rectify, ſhortening the former, and lengthening the latter; that is, he would have lamed ſome, and have given crutches to others; or to be ſtill more punctual, he would have caſt them into a new mould, and thus have

have in all parts obſerved the laws of geometry. But I, conſidering that a book may be made without ſquare and compaſs, have left things as I found them.

It may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange, that theſe foreigners ſhould come at the knowledge of a multitude of things, with which the very people among whom they travel, are as yet unacquainted: but the cauſe of this may be found in that turn for reflection, which characterizes the Chineſe above any other Aſiatics.

The Chineſe, as to laws, morality, and polity, muſt be acknowledged our maſters: a pre-eminence partly derived from their antiquity. The government of China was formed and ſettled long before any European eſtabliſhment; and this ſucceſſion of ideas concerning the duties of civil life has made the beſt moraliſts in the world.

Hence

Hence it is that ſuch perſons by only caſting a glance at our uſages, are able to diſcern the whole plan and ſyſtem of our morality.

Theſe Chineſe, however, though they have already viſited France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, are little more than in the beginning of their tour.

Should the public approve of their reflections, we ſhall hereafter travel with them through other European kingdoms, which they have not as yet reached; their commiſſion it ſeems being to make the moſt punctual inquiries into the religion, policy, manners, morals, cuſtoms and uſages of all the Chriſtian governments.

THE

THE CHINESE SPY.

LETTER I.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi *to the Mandarin* Kié-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

Port l'Orient.

WE made no longer ſtay than neceſſary at the port where we were to leave China. The Mandarins Sin-ho-ei and Ni-ou-ſan, whom our auguſt Emperor had nominated to go to Europe with me, were impatient to ſee this new world. We put to ſea, and, after a voyage of ſix months, landed at Port l'Orient, belonging to the Emperor of the French.

The town, which joins to the harbour, is but of a recent date, at leaſt not ſo ancient as its name by twenty thouſand years.

It was with amazement that we ſaw the houſes drawn in a line, and, at firſt, thought it was in honour to us; but we were ſoon given to underſtand by the inhabitants, that this parade of building was intended to give foreigners a high idea of the magnificence of European towns; likewiſe that the public buildings, the pagods, and houſes, were not allowed to deflect from the line in the ſtreets.

From this we conjecture that theſe people have all the ſame point of view, and that the rays of light they reflect on objects muſt part from the ſame center.

Our arrival was a ſight to the inhabitants; the whole town flocked to ſee us land, and eſcorted us to a houſe, where, for money, ſtrangers are treated with tolerable hoſpitality.

I cannot deſcribe the ſtate of our minds at the ſight of this new world; the ſky, the earth, the elements, the plants, the animals, the men, the buildings of all kinds, every thing appeared to us ſtrange and ſingular.

One

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One thing eſpecially we thought very odd, which was, young women walking bare-faced in the ſtreets, and no one offering any freedoms with them.

Our ſpirits were under a neceſſity of ſtriking a new road to reach our brain, and to form images of which before we had no idea.

Sin-ho-ei thinks that the ſun which gives light to Europe, is not the ſame as that which diffuſes its glorious beams over China; and Ni-ou-ſan affirms that the moon here is leſs bright than that of Pekin.

For my part, every thing here appears to me in little, not one ſingle object have I met with to ſtrike me in great.

Since my arrival in Europe, nature ſeems to me contracted and ſhrivell'd; the work of the univerſe no longer appears to me ſo grand and immenſe; and the human ſpecies in this country are ſo inſignificant, as to be ſcarce worth notice.

In China, the ſeveral claſſes of ſociety are diſtinguiſhed; every ſtation bears its mark; a man of letters is known by his ſalutation. Here all ranks are confounded; their carriage, apparel, ſalutations, manner of talking, are nearly alike in all. Now this uniformity perplexes my ideas.

We ſhall ſpend ſome days at l'Orient, to recover ourſelves from the fatigues of our voyage, and ſtill more from thoſe of our arrival; for the people here greatly diſturb us with their ſtaring, which is very irkſome to travellers, that are come ſo far in order to reflect on every object they ſee, and to whom of courſe ſilence and compoſure are neceſſary.

We cannot ſtir out but immediately we are ſurrounded by crouds; the ſilly people are as eager as ever to ſee us, and, what is ſtill worſe, to follow us; ſo that however we may be maſters of our actions, we are not at liberty to think.

LETTER II.

The Superintendant of the Religion of Confucius, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* Port l'Orient.

Pekin.

I fancy my letter will reach Port l'Orient before you. I diſpatched it by a courier, who, taking his way through the dominions of the Emperor of the Ruſſians, has three thouſand leagues leſs than you to traverſe.

Our

Our auguſt Emperor, who is the ſun of the earthly ball, and whoſe light expands itſelf throughout the univerſe, charges me to repeat his orders to you for examining the preſent ſtate of Europe.

All we know of the Chriſtian world, is from thoſe who have an intereſt to miſrepreſent things. Sin-ho-ei, Ni-ou-ſan, and thou, are the firſt Chineſe who have croſſed the vaſt ocean in ſearch of knowledge.

In order that thy voyage to Europe, ſublime Mandarin, may anſwer our great Sovereign's views, let the firſt ſubject of thy examination be the Chriſtian worſhip; rend the veil of the tabernacles, and penetrate into the ſanctuary of the religious tenets. Throughout the globe, as the religion, ſo are the people; if the religion be full of ceremonies, the votaries are ſuperſtitious; and be aſſured a fanatical people can never be great; this leading delirium of the mind, as it were, chains down the other faculties.

All human ſciences have a connection with the principal dogma of religion; if it be ill combined, or full of abſurdities,

the literature will be the ſame, all efforts of genius will be to no purpoſe, it will never ſtretch its flight beyond the bounds of religion. In ſuch a caſe, the government, the policy, the adminiſtration, the ſciences and arts, will be defective, and ſwarm with errors, becauſe the primary principle is corrupted.

Were general prejudices extinguiſhed, were men actuated by wiſdom, the primary belief would every where be the religion of good ſenſe; for what avail the beſt political inſtitutions, where the mind has been miſled by an irrational religion? In this caſe, either the legiſlature muſt ſuit itſelf to the preceding folly of the worſhip, which is a ſecond evil; or muſt endeavour to ſet it aſide, which is a third inconvenience.

As to thee, dear Cham-pi-pi, I may ſpeak frankly; it is really my opinion, that religions have done leſs good than the vices harm, moſt of them having inflamed the imagination, and this, when once diſordered, ſpurns at the laws both of reaſon and nature.

I have read the hiſtory of moſt worſhips, and the founders, few excepted, ſeem to have gone on a wrong plan, inter-

interlarding them with too many fables and ſupernatural ideas; they ſeem calculated rather for aerial ſpirits than men.

The idea of a Deity is ſo ſimple, that to entangle it in ambiguities, is no ſlight prophaneneſs, as not only degrading that ſupreme eſſence, but tending to hide him from the eyes of man.

LETTER III.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kié-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

L'Orient.

THE mereſt trifles greatly perplex ſtrangers who are quite unacquainted with the country in which they reſide. Yeſterday our landlord preſented us with a bill of our expences, and aſked us how we had digeſted our victuals? I gave him in payment ſix ounces of maſſy ſilver; but he told me that ſuch money was not current in the kingdom, and that it ſhould be ſtamped with the King's image in order to circulate. This anſwer perplexed us greatly; for Sin-ho-ei, Ni-ou-ſan, and I, had no knowledge of engraving. However, as I know ſome-

thing of deſigning, I did not deſpair of poſſeſſing myſelf of the King's figure: but an European, to whom I communicated my deſign, told me, that I ſhould be hanged if I put it in execution, coiners being puniſhed with death.

It is a miſerable thing not to be able to ſubſiſt in a country, becauſe we have not the face of a man in our pocket. My landlord conducted me yeſterday to one of the principal citizens of this town, who has the privilege of coining money, without running the riſk of being hanged; this man dealt with me for my ingots in pieces of bad alloy. I weighed them, and found them lighter than the ſilver I had given him; but I have been told, that, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of Europe, the good offices done to ſtrangers are never proportioned to the money with which they are bought.

LETTER IV.

The Mandarin, Grand Superintendant of Agriculture, to the Mandarin Cham pi-pi, *at* Paris.

Pekin.

YOUR precipitate departure from China has not allowed me time to communicate to you my thoughts upon the means, by which we may acquire an adequate knowledge of the power of kingdoms and ſtates.

If you deſire to become acquainted with the greatneſs of a people in whoſe country you travel, let the ſtate of agriculture be the firſt thing you take into conſideration; don't attempt to make an inquiry into the political conſtitution, the civil laws, and the form of government, till after you have made yourſelf acquainted with the production of its lands: examine their fertility. Thoſe ſtates, whoſe laws are imperfect in this reſpect, will never become great and opulent.

All the governments of the earth have fallen, that of China alone has ſubſiſted; the reaſon of this is, that the legiſlature

has never loſt ſight of this firſt branch of power. Amongſt us it is not a particular law, but a fundamental inſtitution. Our Emperors in all ages have made this their particular care: they have themſelves cultivated the earth, and done the buſineſs of huſbandmen; and the better to excite a ſpirit of emulation, they conferred the place of Mandarin upon thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in that art.

Examine the fields of Europe, take notice whether the inhabitants are poſſeſſed of the conveniencies of life. They ſhould not enjoy great ſuperfluity, but they ſhould always be abundantly ſupplied with neceſſaries. From the eaſy circumſtances of this claſs of people ſprings the affluence and plenty enjoyed by thoſe of higher conditions; when thoſe of the loweſt rank are poor, thoſe of the higheſt can't be rich.

Thoſe who till the earth ſhould enjoy all the little advantages which may render their condition more eaſy. If they are reduced to the loweſt ſtate of indigence, they are utterly diſcouraged, and ſhortly after their ſpirit is entirely broke. I am not at all acquainted with Europe, but I am very certain that I here have given a

juſt

juſt portrait of it; thoſe maxims extend to every country, becauſe the laws relative to agriculture have an equal influence upon every climate.

LETTER V.

The Mandarin, Grand Superintendant of the Agriculture of China, *to the ſame, at* l'Orient.

Pekin.

FROM agriculture, which I treated of in my laſt letter, I proceed to population; one ſubject naturally leads to the other, for the food neceſſary for the general ſubſiſtence of mankind, bounds and limits the numbers of the ſpecies. The human body requires the ſupport of food; if the earth is not cultivated, nature, as it were, periſhes in the boſom of the earth.

I preſide over the productions of the empire. I have often remarked upon this ſubject, that propagation increaſes in proportion as land is cultivated with care, and that generation is analogous to the fertility of the ſoil. When the harveſt is abundant, marriages multiply; the

ſcantier it is, the fewer children are born.

But there occur variety of means in the plan of a popular government. We read in the hiſtory of Europe, that a certain republic of Italy excited its inhabitants to marriage by every method that could poſſibly have an effect upon the human mind.

It conferred extraordinary honours on thoſe who had many children, and branded with contempt thoſe that had none. This was an excellent method of encouraging population, for of all the various ſprings which an adminiſtration can put in play, that of ſelf-love is the ſtrongeſt.

The conſtitution ſhould not ſuffer men to be deprived of their virility upon a religious account; that is a bad form of government which annihilates the work of the Divinity. It is ſaid, that in Europe men devote themſelves in a particular manner to the Deity, at the expence of poſterity. How could any one imagine, that the Great Being, who created human nature, ſhould permit thoſe who attach themſelves to him to deface it?

LET-

LETTER VI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kié-tou-na, *at* Pekin, *upon his way from* l'Orient.

Paris.

TWO days ago we quitted l'Orient in a public carriage, in order to continue our journey to the capital of the European world. In proportion as we advanced upon the continent, we ſought for France every where, and we found it no where. Inſtead of a fertile and plentiful country as it had been repreſented to us, we beheld only barren and deſert plains.

We no where diſcovered that beautiful Chineſe agriculture, which renders ours one of the moſt fertile empires in the world.

France is to this day in the very ſame ſtate in which it came out of the hands of nature. A few old oaks tottering to their fall, fields badly tilled, meadows ill watered, orchards extremely ſcanty of fruit, which is bad in its kind, as well as ſcarce, conſtitute the agriculture of the nation.

Our

Our deſire was to ſee the monarchy, and we were given to underſtand that Paris compriſed the whole kingdom.

Not being able to find the country, we looked about for the inhabitants, but we diſcovered only a few ſavages diſperſed up and down.

In the fields of France are lean animals who walk upon two legs, which are called men, but whoſe figure is ſcarce human. Their bodies are flimzy and emaciated. Nature is in them quite waſted and exhauſted for want of aliments. Theſe wretches, who are neither fed nor cloathed, inhabit a ſort of tombs cut in the earth, and which, in the language of the country, are called houſes. They never ſo much as dream of ſtudying or cultivating the ſciences, all their knowledge and learning may be reduced to a ſort of inſtinct, which borders nearly upon that of brutes. Theſe French ſavages ſpeak no language, they jabber a ſort of jargon which nobody underſtands but themſelves.

Their whole induſtry is exerted in rooting in the earth, from which they derive a wretched ſubſiſtence.

Moſt

Moſt of them live upon glands and acorns, and have no other nouriſhment but that of brute beaſts. Their bread they earn by the ſweat of their brows, ſtruggling with poverty and diſtreſs; condemned, by their condition of life, to conſtant labour and fatigue, their miſery always ſtares them in the face.

Theſe men are ſtrangers to thoſe conveniencies and regulations which alleviate the hardſhips of human life. They don't know whether their country has one common parent, or whether the public is governed by blind chance alone; and they would not even know that a King rules over them, if he did not every day publiſh edicts requiring them to pay him money.

Conceive to yourſelf the portrait of indigence, the picture of poverty, and the moſt frightful appearance of human miſery. Every French village is an infirmary, every hamlet is an hoſpital Since our departure we have conſtantly travelled in company. Our coach was eſcorted during the whole journey by a multitude of beggars, by whom we were conſtantly peſtered. The day before yeſterday, as we ſtopped, in order to dine, at

a little town, the name of which I have forgot, I ſaw an object which affected me, and I doubt not but you will feel ſome emotion in reading my account of it. Our poſtillion, who had perhaps perceived that I was of a compaſſionate temper, carried me into a hut, which had more the appearance of a ſepulchre, than of the habitation of a human creature. I there ſaw a woman, of about thirty years of age, lying upon a truſs of ſtraw, ſurrounded by four little children, one of which had juſt died by its mother for want of food, and the other three were upon the point of expiring with the mother, who was quite exhauſted by giving ſuck to her young ones. This affecting ſcene drew tears from my eyes; I lamented the wretched condition of human nature, ſeeing it reduced to this extremity. I relieved the unhappy creature, and quitted this ſepulchre, felicitating myſelf upon being born under a government which ſhelters its ſubjects from ſuch diſtreſs. Theſe ſhocking miſeries are not here caſual events, but common caſes. I have been credibly informed, that there are now in this kingdom two millions of ſubjects who have neither houſe

houſe nor home; it is thought there are two millions more, who, tho' they do not abſolutely die of hunger, lead a miſerable life for want of proper ſuſtenance.

I ſhall here draw a curtain over this picture, which degrades humanity, and reflects diſhonour upon civil government. From this ſketch you may juſtly conclude that the moſt powerful monarch of Europe is a king of beggars.

LETTER VII.

The Mandarin Kié-tou-na, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* l'Orient.

Pekin.

YOU are the general ſubject of the converſation of Pekin; nothing is here talked of but your departure for Europe. Princes are very much to be pitied; it is to no purpoſe for them to deviſe expedients to make their people happy, they are always ſure to find their conduct cenſured. Our Emperor is blamed for having made you undertake a voyage, by which, according to ſome, neither our morals can be reformed, nor our manners improved; for theſe cenſurers

ſurers maintain, that our government is a repreſentation of that of heaven. Our laws have eſtabliſhed the ſame order in the empire of China which God has ordained in the firmament, where the ſtars, being created by his power, moved in conſequence of his command, according to the firſt principle fixed by him. What buſineſs have we to pry into what paſſes in foreign countries, which have not, like ours, been founded by the Supreme Being, and whoſe inſtitutions are merely the work of men?

Some go ſtill farther, and inſiſt, that your reſiding in foreign countries may be even of dangerous conſequence, and that the maxims of Europe are contagious. They are afraid, that if our Emperor ſhould adopt them, fatal revolutions will then be ſeen in the ſtate. God grant that theſe murmurings may vaniſh, as the gloomy clouds are diſpelled by the riſing of the ſun. God grant likewiſe that you may not be inſtrumental in bringing upon us thoſe evils with which ſudden revolutions in a ſtate are attended, and that we may learn the manners and cuſtoms of the Europeans, only in order to ſhun their vices, which naturally reſult

ſult from their ſeveral forms of government.

LETTER VIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kié-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

FIVE days after our departure from l'Orient, we arrived at Paris. I find it difficult to give you an idea of the emotions I felt upon entering this capital of the empire of the French.

In the ſtreets I beheld a numerous multitude of inhabitants, who walked, or rather flew with the utmoſt rapidity. The croud is every moment ſplit into different parties, which ſhove and jolt each other, and then ſeparate and diſappear.

The ſcene ſhifts every moment. Upon the right you ſee a couple going to be married, attended by their friends and relations; upon the left a dead corpſe going to the grave; here a child juſt born is carried to one hoſpital, and there a dying man to another; thro' that lane paſſes what they here call the Good God, and a little farther a mountebank ſells his noſtrums

noſtrums to the gaping croud; the cry on one ſide is, *Gentlemen, down upon your knees*; and on the other, *Gentlemen, buy my pill, it is an infallible remedy.* What confounds the imagination moſt is, the perpetual motion of twenty thouſand *quan-kiaos*, or coaches, which are driven up and down at ſuch a rate, that the noiſe they make abſolutely ſtuns the ears. The approach of the night does not change the ſcene, or make tranquillity ſucceed to hurry and confuſion; the ſtage is lighted up again by five thouſand low drolls, and the rioting of the night is equal to that of the day.

If Paris was built like other cities, it would ſtand upon more ground than any city in the world, but it is built like a pyramid. Thoſe who live in the ground floors differ from thoſe that live in the higheſt ſtory, as much as the inhabitants of one kingdom differ from thoſe of another. The houſes of Paris ſeem to contain four towns built one upon the top of another; and the manners of the inhabitants are diſtinguiſhed by the different regions in which they live.

The firſt town is upon a level with the ſtreet; it is inhabited by ſhopkeepers and artizans,

artizans, who make open profeſſion of defrauding the public: the ſecond town is inhabited by the nobility, and a ſtrange race of mortals, called in this country Farmers-General, who are much more vicious and corrupt than the artizans: the third is peopled by citizens, who are deſtitute of ſhining virtues, becauſe the mediocrity of their fortunes renders them incapable of flagrant vices; perſons of honour and honeſty, generally ſpeaking, think proper to make the fourth their place of abode.

Theſe four towns have their common theatre below, to which their ſeveral inhabitants deſcend every day, in order to perform their parts. The play begins in the morning, and ends very late at night, when all the actors ſeparate, and retire to their reſpective countries.

Paris is the general aſſembly of all nations, the congreſs of Europe. We there meet with men of all countries, Pariſians only excepted; that race is there become extinct, and a foreign breed has taken their place.

Every republic, every monarchy, every kingdom, and every town in the world,

world, is obliged to contribute a citizen to it.

The book compoſed by the Chriſtian Confucius informs us, that God, being irritated againſt mortals, ſent a deluge upon earth, and that he ſuffered but two rational creatures to eſcape this deluge, with a male and a female of every different ſpecies of animals. If the reſt of the earth was now to be ſubmerged, Paris would reſemble that ark, it would contain as great a variety of animals, both of the male and female kind, as the firſt.

LETTER IX.

The Mandarin Cotao-yu-ſe, *Cenſor of the Empire, to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* Paris.

Pekin.

OUR auguſt Emperor has communicated to me the occaſion of your voyage. I applauded his deſign, and approved his choice.

It will not be difficult to ſo learned a Mandarin as you to unlock the ſecret ſprings which are kept in motion in theſe new

new worlds by ſuch a multiplicity of intereſts.

Each different part of this terreſtrial globe has its particular hiſtory; run over that of Europe, and you will learn from it the character of the various nations by which it is inhabited; but you cannot even ſo acquire a perfect knowledge of their genius. The annals of all countries turn chiefly upon extraordinary revolutions, and man is not to be known without a previous knowledge of the various ſecond cauſes by which he is affected.

Study the vices and the virtues of the people among whom you travel; he that has made himſelf acquainted with their paſſions, muſt have a perfect knowledge of their manners. In general, they vary like the climate of the countries they inhabit; for men, like plants, have a nature congenial to their ſoil, ſo that if you deſire to know the regulations of the earth, ſtudy the revolutions of the heavens.

Examine political conſtitutions, and you will find, that men are always juſt what government makes them.

Attach yourſelf to the ſtudy of forms and inſtitutions, they are of more importance

tance than is generally thought. A form more or leſs in an adminiſtration, makes a total revolution in the character of men.

Remark the influence which the ſyſtem of civil government has upon a people. A government may ſometimes be perfect in itſelf, and yet ill-adapted to the temper of the people who live under it.

Take notice whether the people amongſt whom you live, are attached to their manners and cuſtoms; if they are not, they do not ſuit with their genius, and muſt conſequently be abſurd and ill-contrived.

Give a particular attention to the regulations of the police. They are the ſoul of public ſubordination; by them the ſeveral claſſes of ſociety are preſerved in the juſt order of mutual dependance.

Examine the laws; they ſhould in every country be conformable to the climate. Thoſe which do not derive their force from ſome phyſical cauſe, will form but a weak people.

Study the manners of princes; they are in every country mirrors of thoſe of the people. If the Sovereigns are vicious, the ſubjects are ſo likewiſe.

Obſerve the luxury of kings with an attentive eye. In all the countries of the earth the expences of the monarch give riſe to public indigence.

Take cognizance of the politic adminiſtration. The caſe is the ſame with great ſocieties and with ſmall. A father who does not know how to govern his family, is ſure to make all his children unhappy.

Sound the genius of thoſe who are by kings entruſted with the adminiſtration of their affairs. Weak miniſters ruin the people by their incapacity.

Make a profound diſquiſition into the œconomy of ſtate; when that is in good order, the political government is ſo likewiſe.

Arts, commerce, and induſtry, may furniſh matter for ſome reflections, becauſe they occaſion revolutions in the national ſtate of a people's finances, and theſe, in their turn, give riſe to the moſt extraordinary changes in their affairs.

Pry into the ſecrets of courts. It is eaſy to come at the knowledge of them in Europe, becauſe there, all their affairs, if we may depend on hiſtory, are tranſacted in a public manner.

Examine all the circumſtances of civil life. Take notice of the methods of education in each country; wherever it is not founded upon parental authority, there muſt be a general corruption amongſt the ſubjects of a ſtate.

Take an eſtimate of the extent of learning in each nation. The ſciences have a general influence upon the minds of men. In all ages, enlightened nations have made the ignorant ſubmit to their government.

Give a ſtrict attention to the manners and cuſtoms of nations; without being acquainted with them, you cannot know the character of each people.

Endeavour to be perfect in the knowledge of cuſtoms, they are the ſupport of ſtates. A nation ſometimes thinks itſelf governed by its laws, when, at the ſame time, its adminiſtration is conducted by its cuſtom alone.

Let not your Mandarin's gravity deſpiſe the knowledge of woman-kind; that ſex, which ſubjects the whole world to its laws, has more or leſs influence, in proportion to the degree of weakneſs of the other.

Make yourſelf acquainted with their taſtes, their appetites, their whims, their dreſſes,

dreſſes, their faſhions, and their extravagancies, for all theſe things contribute more or leſs to corrupt the manners of men.

Deſcend even to the ſeemingly trivial ſpeculation of the diverſions and amuſements of the Europeans. All the nations of the earth have ſuch, and they are emblematical either of their wiſdom or folly. In every country there is a concatenation of little things, which put the great in motion.

Europe is now the only part of the earth which makes any noiſe. Aſia, Africa, and America, lie buried in profound ſilence round her. Her wars intereſt the whole globe. She entirely engroſſes the ſtage of the world.

Pan-to-chi, a Mandarin of the firſt order, who is wiſdom itſelf, maintains, that this extraordinary agitation of Europe muſt be cauſed by the vices of its inhabitants, which keep them in a conſtant fermentation. The reaſon he aſſigns is, that virtue is of a pacific diſpoſition; that modeſty and ſilence are its eſſential characteriſtics. If this be the caſe, I heartily pity you for having undertaken ſo long a voyage in order to meet vices

which you did not go in queſt of, without finding the virtues which you ſo earneſtly ſought.

LETTER X.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Chief Prieſt of the Religion of* Confucius, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

THE Chriſtians might be with reaſon accuſed of looking upon their religion as a topic of public deriſion. At Paris all the houſes dedicated to debauchery and proſtitution have the name of ſome myſtery of the Chriſtian religion over their doors.

A ſtranger who arrives in that city may have his boots pulled off at *God the Father's Inn*, drink a bottle the next day at the *Gardens of Paradiſe*, where people meet as at a maſquerade to dance, make merry, and carry on their intrigues. He may paſs his afternoon at the ſign of the *Crucifix*, and in the evening proſtitute himſelf to the embraces of a courtezan at the ſign of the *Holy Virgin*.

One would think that moſt of the gods of that religion kept taverns before they

they aſcended into heaven, and left no monuments upon earth but ſigns and ſign-poſts.

The merchants, and thoſe whoſe intention is to impoſe upon the public, conſtantly hide themſelves behind the image of ſome ſaint.

As it was well known that we had many purchaſes to make, we were given to underſtand, that there was nothing good to be had at St. Peter's, that St. Paul uſed falſe meaſures, that St. John's wares were bad, and that the *Holy Ghoſt* in St. Honoré's ſtreet was an arrant rogue.

Almoſt all the ſaints at Paris have been bankrupt.

Crowned heads are as little reſpected. There is not a hedge-cook's ſhop in this town that is not adorned with the name of ſome great European monarch. No ſooner did we alight from the coach that brought us from l'Orient, but it was at our option to chuſe for our lodging the Emperor's Inn, the King of Spain's Inn, or the King of France's. But as the crowned heads that keep public houſes at Paris confine their hoſpitality to letting out rooms ready furniſhed, ſo that foreigners who reſide there are obliged to eat

with Princes of the blood, at thirty ſols a head; the Prince of Condé was recomended to us as a cook conſummate in his profeſſion; we were aſſured that the Duke of Orleans had good wine in his cellars; that there was excellent ſoup at the Prince of Conti's every day at two o'clock, and that the beef-a-la-mode was exquiſite at the *Hotel of Bourbon.*

LETTER XI.

The Mandarin Kié-tou-na, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* Paris.

Pekin.

IN a great nation it is impoſſible but there muſt be tyrannical proceedings ſomewhere in the empire. The more a continent ſwarms with inhabitants, the more particular intereſts are multiplied, or, in other words, the more the paſſions of men are increaſed. It is the part of the legiſlature to reform abuſes which are occaſioned by too numerous a ſociety.

The Prince cannot ſuperintend the adminiſtration of every particular branch of executive juſtice, he is under an abſolute neceſſity of intruſting his ſubjects with

with ſome part of his authority, and this ſharing of his power is dangerous; but, if he cannot do every thing himſelf, he ſhould at leaſt know every thing that paſſes in his kingdom.

Our government is formed upon this plan. The cries of perſecuted innocence can always reach the throne: the ſubject, when unjuſtly oppreſſed, can have recourſe to the clemency of the Emperor. If he has been condemned by the iniquity of an unjuſt tribunal, he is reinſtated in his rights by the Emperor, and the judges ſeverely puniſhed. I ſhall here lay before you a very terrible example of this:

A Viceroy of a province, remote from Pekin, endeavoured to enrich himſelf by rapine and extortions upon the people committed to his care. The Mandarin, treaſurer of the exchequer, oppoſed his illegal proceedings. This boldneſs provoked him; he became quite deſperate; he reſolved to ruin the treaſurer, who not only oppoſed his monopolies, but could even have prevented them by making them known to the Emperor. The Mandarin was put under arreſt; the Viceroy corrupted the judges, who deprived him of his places,

condemned him to receive the baſtinado, and to end his days in a priſon. The ſentence being executed, the Viceroy ſet out for court, where he neglected nothing to prevent this affair from coming to the ears of the Prince. Notwithſtanding all his precaution, the Emperor was informed of it. He immediately cauſed the Viceroy and judges to be put under an arreſt. A committee of Mandarins was immediately appointed to examine the whole procedure in preſence of the Emperor. It appeared evidently from the queſtions, and the whole proceſs of the cauſe, that they were guilty of injuſtice. The Viceroy was condemned to the baſtinado, and the judges who had pronounced the unjuſt ſentence, to death. Thoſe about the King's perſon, who had concealed this iniquitous proceeding from his knowledge, were baniſhed, and ſome of them were put to death; for in China, whoever is acquainted with a crime in which juſtice and public order are concerned, is looked upon as guilty of the ſame crime, if he does not divulge it to the Emperor.

The priſoner was reinſtated in all his rights; he was even raiſed to a place of higher

higher honour and more profit than that he had been poſſeſſed of before.

LETTER XII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kié-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

THE firſt care of foreigners who arrive at Paris, after they have provided themſelves with neceſſaries, is to ſatisfy the cravings of their curioſity. They go to and fro, they mount their coaches and deſcend from them, they go out early in the morning, they return late at night, they are ſcarce capable of reflection till they recover their firſt ſurpriſe.

Theſe firſt days are hardly ſupportable. A perſon muſt be conſtantly upon the wing, every moment changing his place, and never at reſt. The purſuit of amuſement begins in the morning, under the direction of a hired valet, who points out the way to every curioſity. He knows the name of every thing worthy of obſervation. This man is himſelf a walking curioſity. It is thus

people go a long voyage without ever ſtirring out of Paris.

It is true, indeed, the extraordinary things that are there to be ſeen, fully repay the trouble that men take in order to ſee them. People are in a conſtant hurry for a month together, to viſit *royal palaces uninhabited by kings, tombs of monarchs in which monarchs are not buried, treaſuries which contain no wealth, univerſities without profeſſors, academies without men of learning, libraries without authors, temples without decorum, obſervatories without teleſcopes, arſenals without arms, gardens without ſimples, galleries without pictures, cabinets without medals.*

People ſtill repair in crouds to behold the wonders of Paris, and they ſee only *lying ſepulchres, falſe inſcriptions, extravagant epitaphs, ridiculous monuments, wretched hoſpitals, foundations of rich bonzes, irregular ſquares, and indecent ſtatues of kings*, &c. &c.

We are here looked upon more as foreigners and Chineſe than we were at l'Orient. The Pariſians ſtop in the ſtreet to contemplate us, and even after they have ſeen us long enough, they continue ſtill to obſerve us with attention. On Sundays

days we are followed by a more numerous crowd than ordinary, for as it is the day by the Chriſtians conſecrated to devotion, it is that upon which their curioſity is under leaſt reſtraint.

LETTER XIII.

The ſame, to the Chief Prieſt of the Religion of Confucius, *at* Pekin.

L'Orient.

YEſterday in traverſing this city, I entered a ſort of pagod, commonly called a Chriſtian church. My attention was immediately engaged by a ſtone veſſel of an odd ſort of form, the admirable ſculpture of which reſembled that of a fountain.

Sir, ſaid I to a man dreſſed in black, who happened to ſtand at my elbow, and whom I took for a Mandarin, pray what is the uſe of yonder ſtone veſſel? It is, anſwered he gravely, and with an emphatical tone, the very baſis of the Chriſtian religion, the fountain which purifies ſouls, and purges them from the filth of original ſin, which all men bring into the world with them at their birth. This, in the language of the faith of our Redeemer

Jeſus Chriſt, is called the ſacrament of baptiſm. And how is that purification at laſt effected? Of that I am going to inform you, anſwered he; a few drops of water are ſprinkled upon the face of a child juſt born, and this ceremony immediately makes him a Chriſtian, that is, a member of the only true religion upon earth; for pleaſe to obſerve, that the reſt are impoſtures, invented with no other view than to impoſe upon the credulity of mankind.

From that moment he is regiſtered in the book of eternity, and has a right to the bliſs of heaven, of which the people of other nations are never to participate.

That is ſomewhat extraordinary, anſwered I; I ſhould have thought, that in all the religions of the world, it is a very hard matter to be one of the elect, but in yours it ſeems to be the eaſieſt thing in the world, and that a Chriſtian may be of the number of the elect without taking any particular pains. This water is admirable; without doubt it was ſent you from heaven, and God ſhowers it upon Chriſtian countries alone. The myſtery, anſwered he, is not in the water, it is in the words which are pronounced when it

is

is poured out. Oh! I underſtand you now, anſwered I, you Chriſtian Mandarins have the gift of tongues, you can pronounce divine words, which the miniſters of the people of other continents are unable to pronounce. No, anſwered he, thoſe words are very ſimple, ſimple as the ceremony itſelf. This Mandarin ſeeing my aſtoniſhment, and being willing to avail himſelf of the ſurpriſe which I was ſeized with, Mr. Pagan, continued he, for I look upon you as ſuch, you have now an excellent opportunity of purging yourſelf of your idolatry, the fountain is open, you have nothing to do but plunge in. I returned him thanks for the trouble he took in endeavouring to convert me to Chriſtianity.

You ſee it is no hard matter to provide yourſelf here with a certificate for heaven, becauſe there is nothing to do but ſtoop down and take it up. I intreated the man to conduct me thro' the church, with a deſign to queſtion him upon the objects which ſhould offer themſelves to our view. He granted my requeſt.

As ſoon as I had caſt my eye upon the inſide of the building, I obſerved upon the right and left little pagods, each of which repre-

repreſented ſome human figure. Sir, ſaid I to the Mandarin, pray tell me the name of thoſe idols? They are not idols, anſwered he, they are ſaints. How do you mean ſaints? I ſhall explain this matter preſently; they are men, who have obeyed all laws divine and human, and who have diſcharged the duty of Chriſtians. Well, anſwered I, theſe men have done nothing but their duty, why ſhould you erect altars to them. We pray to them to intercede with God for us. Does God then want a remembrancer? I think it is affronting his foreknowledge to put him in mind that he ſhould be good and benevolent. We then advanced to the grand pagod, which my conductor called the tabernacle, and before which he proſtrated himſelf. What ſaint is in that nich, ſaid I? It is God himſelf, who in perſon reſides in that tabernacle which you ſee yonder, anſwered he, pointing with his finger to a little door which reſembles thoſe of the furnaces in which we cauſe our China to be baked. Take care, Sir, ſaid I, don't confound terms; your meaning perhaps is, that this tabernacle repreſents the moſt important myſtery of your religion. No, anſwered he, it

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is God himſelf, the Author of nature, the Creator of the world, who is there preſent in the fleſh, in a hoſt of ſome inches in circumference.

I could wiſh as well as you, that thoſe who fabricated religions had not confounded every idea, and that a man could be a Chriſtian without totally renouncing his reaſon.

I can give you no account of the people by whom I am ſurrounded. I am ſtill as great a novice in Europe as I could poſſibly be in the midſt of Aſia.

I ſent to our court an account of our arrival, which filled us with aſtoniſhment. The ſeas which ſeparate us from theſe nations, cannot help us to form a judgment of their manners. The difference of manners between the Europeans and us is more than equivalent to a diſtance of ſix thouſand leagues.

There is in the moſt trivial things an inexpreſſible ſomewhat, of which I cannot give you an idea.

You may perhaps receive new aſtoniſhment from the peruſal of ſome of my future epiſtles: the buſineſs of the firſt part of our correſpondence was merely to amuſe

muſe the eyes, imagination was therein almoſt entirely unconcerned.

We looked about us, we aſked queſtions, but hitherto we have not been able to acquire any information. The inhabitants of Europe are held in its capitals; thoſe who deſerve the name of men occupy the towns, the low vulgar people the provinces. Theſe laſt are a ſort of machines, entirely deſtitute of ſenſe; to be born and to die is the whole hiſtory of their exiſtence. They are perpetuated by mechanical principles, and propagate by the groſs and carnal act of generation. This provincial world would not laſt long, if it was not upheld by the works of nature.

I cannot conceive to what that aſcendant of Europe, which dazzles other nations, owes its being. That part of the human ſpecies which we ſee here is ſo humble, that it ſeems made for ſilence and obſcurity.

It ſeems probable that all this rout is made about its courts, tempeſtuous regions where the clouds of kingly ambition form the growling thunder.

In a few days we ſhall quit this great city.

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LETTER XIV.

The Mandarin Kié-tou-na, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* Paris.

Pekin.

THE Chriſtian mathematicians whom our ſublime Emperor entertains at his court, maintain that the French ſurpaſs the reſt of the European nations in genius and abilities. It ſeems probable that they owe this to their bodily conſtitution, for men like plants derive their virtues from the ſoil in which they grow. However, there are many ſecond cauſes which have more influence over countries than the climate itſelf.

When I take a curſory view of the kingdoms of Aſia, I meet with people who have wit, when good ſenſe alone would be ſufficient for them; and others, which, with the moſt delicate fibres, the organs beſt calculated to form a genius, have but mean abilities. Exert yourſelf to the utmoſt to diſcover the ſource of this ſuperiority of genius, which diſtinguiſhes the French from all other Europeans.

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LETTER XV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Chief Prieſt, at* Pekin.

Paris.

THE religious doctrine of the Europeans is written; but the impreſſions of the book in which its precepts are delivered, are various. There are three different editions of the religion which they profeſs. The Jews maintain that which they have adopted to be the true religion; the Roman Catholics declare for that of Rome, and the Proteſtants maintain that their ſyſtem is the beſt.

The firſt, ſay they, is the religion which God gave us, the ſecond is religion reformed by the Meſſiah, and the third is religion digeſted and reduced to a ſyſtem by men. The difference between theſe three ſects is contained in three ſeparate volumes.

VOL. I.

God created heaven and earth. He formed an amphibious being, half-man, half-woman. He divided his work into two parts, and Adam and Eve were inſtantly

ſtantly created. They were married, and the world was peopled by them.

An evil ſpirit, created by God at the ſame time with the woman, tempted Eve. The whole human ſpecies was affected by his fall; men ſinned ſix thouſand years before they were born.

The theatre of the earth was opened by a tragedy; Cain ſtained the earth with the blood of his brother Abel.

Vice tyranniſed over virtue, which was not however baniſhed from the earth; ſhe took refuge with Abel, the brother of Cain.

The firſt city in the world was built by crime; arts were the invention of human depravity; the world was peopled by a perverſe and malignant race; the good are confounded with the wicked. God, provoked that his deſign ſhould turn out ſo ill, overwhelmed the earth with a deluge of water. The whole human ſpecies was drowned, a ſingle ark eſcaped the fury of the deluge; and after that univerſal inundation there remained but one man, of the name of Noah, with his family. A ſecond creation commenced, but it did not laſt ſo long as the firſt. The life of mortals

was

was abridged, they died almoſt at their birth.

They were ſoon deſirous of converſing, but they were incapable of underſtanding each other. A confuſion of languages prevailed all over the earth.

Yet the earth had not then a maſter, it was the property of no one perſon. The ſons of Noah ſhared the globe amongſt them.

Nimrod was the firſt who violated univerſal hoſpitality; he made conqueſts, that is, he poſſeſſed himſelf of what he had no right to, and, by being author of the firſt act of injuſtice, he eſtabliſhed the right divine of kings.

The earth was a ſecond time peopled, and confuſion overſpread it again. In proportion as creation became a remote object, man began to forget his Creator. They made themſelves brazen and wooden gods, to which they paid divine honours. The divinity was formed by the art of man. God being again incenſed, diſperſed the human ſpecies once more. The good were ſeparated from the wicked. Abraham became the father of the true believers, and he was called by God to inhabit a land promiſed to him and his children. The

The kingdoms of Judah and Iſrael were formed. The great legiſlator was born; his name was Moſes; he wandered forty years in the wilderneſs.

A buſh appeared in flames, by which Moſes was given to underſtand that the time was come to invade Egypt, in order to deliver his brethren from captivity; and as he ſhewed himſelf at once a great politician, a great general, and a great legiſlator, he delivered them from captivity with the utmoſt eaſe. Moſes wrote, and the age in which he wrote is called the Age of Scripture, to diſtinguiſh it from that in which writing was unknown.

God, often deceived by his people, at laſt made an accommodation with them; he delivered to them a body of laws, according to which they were to regulate their conduct; and to render their memory eternal, he wrote them with his own hand: this collection of laws goes by the name of the Decalogue, and contains the eſſential articles of the Jewiſh creed.

Moſes died, and the Iſraelites were again reduced to ſervitude. In the mean time the Sovereign of the univerſe had no fixed place of reſidence; the ark of the

the Almighty was portable. A King, named David, gives God a houſe; but does it only by halves. One, Solomon, puts the finiſhing hand to the building, which, not long after, is deſtroyed. Another King called Cyrus, a ſecond time, ſets about rebuilding the tabernacle.

The people of God, as they are called, ſtill continued without any ſettlement; and, after four thouſand years, the work of Iſrael is not yet compleated.

VOL. II.

God reforms his firſt plan; he rejects the ancient law. The Jews, once his beloved people, are now curſed by him. Mankind being immerſed in vice and guilt, ſtand in need of a Redeemer. The Spirit inveſts itſelf with fleſh; the Creator becomes a creature; a woman brings forth the Eternal; the Chriſt is born of her. God becomes man, to redeem his image. Eaſtern Sages come to worſhip him; a ſtar going before them and ſtanding ſtill over the place of his birth, ſhews them the way.

A man, named John, cloathed in a hairy garment, plunges the Chriſt in the water; he purifies him who is purity itſelf.

ſelf. Chriſt is carried away into the deſart by the evil ſpirit, who offers him vaſt dominions; but that does not tempt him. Had he been ſeduced, there would have been an end of every thing; there would have been no heaven or earth, but an univerſal hell.

Divine Wiſdom itſelf inſtructs mankind; the Saviour of the world keeps a ſchool of morality. God opens his mouth, and teaches his diſciples; it is Wiſdom itſelf that ſpeaks.

Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, bleſſed are thoſe who weep, bleſſed are they who hunger. If your right eye offend you pluck it out, if your right hand offend you cut it off; you are not to put away your wives, unleſs it be for adultery. Let your communication be yea, yea; or nay, nay; you ſhall have no law ſuits, &c.

The Author of nature is crucified, he expires on a gibbet between two robbers; Life itſelf dies; Eternity remains dead three days in the grave.

The religion of Chriſt forms a triangle. It has three Gods; the premiſſes being not very clear, a blind aſſent has been introduced under the name of faith, the virtue of which is to make men believe

lieve without comprehending, and to perſuade without giving any clear ideas.

Though the Deity had ſhaken off the yoke of fleſh by his reſurrection, he did not come off ſo. The Chriſtians have ever ſince communicated with the body and blood of Chriſt. In order to purify themſelves, they ate their God.

Religion, which ſince the creation of the world had only a father, acquired a new relation, a mother called the church. This church digeſted its laws into a code, to which all the faithful ſubmitted; but its inſtitutes were ſubordinate to the caprice of its vicar, who has often abrogated them, and ſubſtituted others in their ſtead.

VOL. III.

The goſpel is given to all Chriſtians, it is the code of the divine laws, and the way in which we muſt walk to arrive at heaven. For fifteen hundred years people were pretty well agreed in its contents; but, about that period, two men made a clamour that Chriſtians believed more than was contained in the goſpel; that tranſubſtantiation is only a name, that the whole ceremony is no more than com-

commemorative. They affirmed, that in the euchariſt there is nothing beyond the hoſt; that the Pope is a man; and images no more than papers: ſo they ſaid, and twenty millions of Europeans believed them on their word.

Obſerve on what a ſmall matter great events depend in Europe. Had not a man named Calvin, and one Luther, been born, there would have been only two religions; that there are three, is owing entirely to the birth of two men.

LETTER XVI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Cotao-yu-ſe, *Cenſor of the Empire, at* Pekin.

Paris.

THE Paris women are like ſo many furies. The firſt time of my being with them in the public walks, I thought myſelf in the midſt of a group of demons. One would think that they were perpetually diſtracted by ſome violent paſſion; rage and deſpair are painted on their faces. Their complexion is all fiery, quite inflamed, and their ſkin red as ſcarlet. Thou canſt not conceive

the effect this has on a Chineſe, who, after being uſed in his own country to converſe with women formed by the hands of nature, comes to be for the firſt time with creatures formed entirely by art.

For my part, I am apt to think that this is providential; for conſidering the allowed freedom here in converſing with women, and how eaſily they are ſeduced, ſhould they ſhew themſelves in their natural beauty, the propenſity to licentiouſneſs would grow above controul.

There will ſoon be no need for morality, to prohibit voluptuouſneſs; the ſex, which every day makes itſelf leſs inviting, will at length become ſo hideous that men will ſhun them; and then there will be no other deſire than what is requiſite to perpetuate the ſpecies.

You ſhall hear farther about this maſquerade, and the pains they take here to make themſelves ugly; for there muſt be much art, and much pains, to disfigure nature ſo as not to be known.

LETTER

LETTER XVII.

The Mandarin Cotao-yu-ſe, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* Paris.

Pekin.

I Acquaint you with an event which at preſent afflicts our empire; the whole nation is in mourning for it. A Chineſe of the city of Canton has lately killed his father. The news had no ſooner reached Pekin, than the Emperor gave immediately order to open the Pagods, for offering expiatory ſacrifices, being perſuaded that ſuch a crime would never have been committed, had not the Deity been angry with the nation. The concourſe of people was immenſe; the public prayers laſted forty days, during which every one likewiſe impoſed on himſelf ſevere faſtings.

The Viceroy of this province is removed from his poſt. The two Mandarins of this department, who were charged with the inſpection over the morals of the people, were put to death, it being a maxim here to believe, that, when any atrocious crime is committed, corruption muſt be very prevalent; and this could not be without ſome negligence in the

magiſtrates. The Emperor has diſpatched an extraordinary commiſſion to inquire into the fact.

I here ſend you the report of the affair, as tranſmitted to the Emperor by the preſident of the commiſſion.

"On our arrival at Canton, we went "to that part of the city where the crime "had been committed; here we ſummoned the neighbours, to queſtion "them concerning the parricide's morals "and character. We were informed, "that he regularly attended the public "ſervice of the Pagod, and that he behaved pretty well as a citizen and member of ſociety. They farther told us, "that he did not appear to have any "great fault, except being ſomewhat "haſty and paſſionate.

"In the progreſs of our interrogatories we found, that he uſed to look on "his father as a ſtranger, had nothing of "that reſpect and veneration which is "naturally in Chineſe children towards "their parents.

"We aſked theſe neighbours, what "manner of education the father had "given his ſon? Their anſwer was, that "this man being a trader, his buſineſs

obliged

" obliged him to be from home the " greater part of the year, and that he " had entruſted that care to a neighbour, " who having no child had been ſo kind as " to take it on himſelf. The young man, " ſaid they, ſo far adopted the manner " and behaviour of this ſtranger, that, " two or three years after, when his fa- " ther returned home, he ſcarce knew " him again; inſtead of giving him the " name of *father*, he always called him " *ſir*. The father did not at firſt mind " this diſtinction, concluding that age " would bring him to a ſenſe of his du- " ty, and that nature would reaſſume its " power. However, time ſeemed to have " had a quite contrary effect; for the " father leaving off trade, and ſettling at " home, the ſon lived with him entirely " as with a ſtranger, with whom he was " more connected by intereſt than by the " ties of blood; and at length killed him " to come at his fortune.

" From theſe depoſitions we perceived " that the father, by committing the " education of his ſon to another, had " extinguiſhed in him the ſentiments of " nature, and thus been one of the prin- " cipal cauſes of his unfortunate end. It

" alſo appears to us, that the ſon had " excellent qualities, which, if duly cul- " tivated by his father, would have made " him a valuable member of ſociety.

" After theſe informations, we repair- " ed to the criminal's houſe. The door " being ſhut, we knocked, and no body " anſwering, we ordered it to be " broke open. In the ſecond chamber " we went into was this wretched ſon " hanging to the cieling, and the follow- " ing words written with his own hand : " *My father is the cauſe both of his own* " *death and mine. I ſhould never have at-* " *tempted his life, had he not left me to be* " *brought up by others, and thus uſed me* " *from my childhood to look upon him as a* " *ſtranger. Oh! ye Mandarins, who ſhall* " *ſee this ſpectacle, let it move you to recom-* " *mend to the Emperor, that children be* " *brought up under their parents.*"

The Viceroy loſt his poſt for not having made due inquiry about the young man's education; and the Mandarins were puniſhed with death, for not having informed the Emperor that there was a Chineſe in their diſtrict, who had intruſted the education of his ſon to a ſtranger.

It was not enough to have come at the bottom of this parricide, and inflicted penalties on thoſe through whoſe negligence it had not been prevented. Such a crime ſhould have been obviated for the time to come, and the ſtream diverted at its very ſource. This the Emperor, in council, is now deliberating about.

LETTER XVIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kié-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

NI-OU-SAN and Fin-ho-ei are extremely tired of Paris, having no other paſtime than to look about, ſee and enjoy their wonder.

Fin-ho-ei ſets out to-morrow for Italy, from whence he will communicate to me thoſe points of which it is our ſublime Emperor's pleaſure to be informed.

He will write to me hither, and after adding my reflections to his letters, I ſhall tranſmit them to thee. During my ſtay in France, Paris ſhall be the centre of our correſpondence. All the diſpatches

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to Pekin ſhall take their departure from this place.

Ni-ou-ſan would have already been gone for Spain and Portugal, but I cannot bring myſelf to part with all that remains to me of China.

I anticipate my uneaſineſs at being leſt to myſelf, without one ſingle mortal to whom I can impart my thoughts, ſo that when he goes, I ſhall be alone in the midſt of Paris, no body to converſe with in my native language; yet this is a ſacrifice my country requires of me. Our correſpondence perhaps may ſuffer a little by it, for he helps me in thinking: I ſhew him the letters I write to thee; what eſcapes my mind he lays hold of, and, as it were, completes my ideas.

His departure being ſo near, I make acquaintance with Europeans, and habituate myſelf beforehand to think alone.

LETTER XIX.

Cham-pi-pi *to* Cotao-yu-ſe, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

I Have ſeen, by thy letter, the misfortune which our empire is now lamenting. Did the like cauſe produce the

the like effects here, France would be never out of mourning; for even thoſe kinds of murders are nothing very extraordinary in Europe.

The cauſe of this is the want of care in parents. Religion, morality, manners, virtue, loſe their effect, if not deeply implanted in the heart, as ſoon as ever they may take root. With mankind, all depends on the firſt ideas.

Not that the government in this monarchy has neglected to prevent ſuch terrible crimes; there are regulations on this head, as good as ours, but they are ineffectual, from the prevailing cuſtom of children not being brought up at home. This duty of fathers and mothers, though the moſt indiſpenſable of all, is generally committed to ſtrangers.

Beaſts never forſake their young till able to ſhift for themſelves; it is ſurpriſing that human reaſon ſhould be more defective than inſtinct. Here a child is no ſooner born than ſent away out of his father's houſe, without ever returning till his manners are fixed, and almoſt always depraved. To him his father is as much a ſtranger as any other perſon; he can have no particular love

or reſpect for him. What claim has he to it? He gave him live; but that was a duty of his ſtation. Filial duty is not a conſequence of the act of generation: when that is the ſole motive, ſo far from being a good, it is often an evil. Moſt of thoſe unhappy creatures that are hanged, or broken on the wheel here, curſe the inſtant of that act.

This love ariſes from the parent's care, which is nothing but that of education. The buſineſs is, early to inſtil into children a reſpect to their parents, without which no ſociety can ſubſiſt; this is quite of another importance than wit or genteelneſs, aboutwhich ſuch pains are taken.

In this monarchy education is of two kinds, that of teachers, and that of the world; the former is directly oppoſite to almoſt the whole plan and end of the latter. The firſt commonly becomes of no uſe, and the ſecond is generally corrupt. That of the world runs counter to all the maxims of religion, on which that of teachers founds a multitude of duties.

The education given to youth, on entering into the world, relates wholly to one's ſelf; it conſiſts not in doing good, but great

great things. The point is not, to be better than one's countrymen; but to acquire diſtinction. Whatever makes a noiſe and has a brilliant appearance, are eſſentials in the French education It does not require virtue; the appearances of it ſuffice. « If actions be but ſtriking, their intrinſic merit goes for nothing; juſtice, equity, candour, probity, are not looked for, and accordingly do not come into the account. It allows of vice of all ſorts, provided they be not attended with meanneſs and ſubmiſſion; for this is the principal point on which all its maxims turn.

The effect of this education is perfectly anſwerable to the cauſe of it. The love of children to fathers not being the ſpring of domeſtic government, ſociety conſiſts of ſtrangers, united neither by blood nor friendſhip. Nothing is more common, than for children here to go to law with their fathers, to ſue them, to obtain ſentences againſt them, to refuſe them a ſupport, to throw them into priſon, and even to murder them.

From this ſame principle ariſes the indifference here towards magiſtrates and the venerable men of the nation. Where

judges and old men are deſpiſed, reſpect will be wanting to the Sovereign, who is the father of the great family. Of the five laſt Kings, the French aſſaſſinated three. They were monſters, it will be ſaid, unqueſtionably; but monſters, ſubjects of France. Were this government like ours, founded on paternal love, ſuch a villainy would never come into their heads.

Men do not act at random; both their virtues and vices have a primary cauſe; and this cauſe neceſſarily flows from education.

The European politicians affirm, that the nature of the French government not being founded on the plan of paternal rule, the general education ſhould be put into another track, ſo that either its conſtitution muſt be moulded anew, or the nation be over-run with all thoſe vices, which are a neceſſary conſequence of it.

Where is the uſe of laws which do not prevent a ſon from killing his father, and a ſubject from aſſaſſinating his King? Torturing deaths may puniſh the guilty, and even put guilt to a ſtand; but will never extirpate the vice, it being ingrafted on nature.

LETTER XX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the ſame, at* Pekin.

Paris.

THE French nation is actuated by an idol called the *point of honour*, the features of which are extremely diſfigured: it has no altar, nor is there any particular place for making ſupplications to it. Its very votaries know nothing of its reſidence; the general opinion is, that the *point of honour* uſually dwells in the ſcabbard of a ſword. I have been at no ſmall pains in inquiring into its nature, and could find nothing in it congruous to our ideas.

Politicians derives its origin from monarchical government, but this is not altogether probable; there having been in all times nations governed by Kings, yet no hiſtory makes mention of the *point of honour*.

According to others it is deſcended in a right line from a little ugly idol, created at the ſame time as woman, to which man often erected altars, and which he ſometimes trampled under foot: knight-errants

errants went up and down the world armed cap-a-pie, certifying all whom it might concern, that this little ugly idol is nature's maſter-piece, and offered to fight any gainſayer. If ſuch be its origin, and this honour, as Europeans ſay, is the ſource of the power of ſtates, their ſtrength may be ſaid to reſt on a very ſlender ſupport.

I am of opinion that the *point of honour* is of French extraction, being freakiſh, and acting by caprice. It may be ſaid to have two conſtitutions, one robuſt, the other weak. Its ſtrength is ſuch as not to yield to cannon, yet it is ſo weak as to faint away at the ſight of a little wand or ſwitch. It has alſo two hearts, the firſt full of courage, and the ſecond as timorous. Its votaries are ſo brave, that, on being told they lie, they immediately are for fighting; and withal ſuch cowards, that if talked of never ſo much, as having neither wit nor genius, common ſenſe nor learning, they do not demand ſatisfaction: ſuch reflections they tamely pocket. Its conſtitution, I ſhould think, muſt be bilious and choleric, for the end of all its actions is revenge.

The

The rites *of honour* agree in nothing with thoſe of the religion of Chriſt. Their maxims are almoſt always in oppoſition; what one forbids the other enjoins. Nor does it much better harmonize with the conſtitution of the ſtate; the laws expreſsly prohibit killing one another unleſs for the ſervice of the government, yet its followers are every day cutting one anothers throats for a word or a geſture. The like contrariety is found with regard to the ſovereign, for however they may conſider obedience to his will as a duty, they often make it a *point of honour* to act contrary to it.

The laws of nature are of no weight *with honour* In caſe of an affront, or to go and be knocked on the head in war, it diſregards the neareſt ties. The tears of a wife and children, of brothers and ſiſters, cannot move it; they muſt part, *honour will have it ſo.*

It could not be otherwiſe, but that a nation, in which there are ſo many vices, muſt ſwarm with votaries to honour; for the morality of honour accommodates itſelf to almoſt every human paſſion. It allows of gallantry and voluptuouſneſs, prohibits not debauchery; neither does

it

it proſcribe theft and monopolies, if they be not attended with any ignominious circumſtances.

A man *of honour* here may deprive me of my ſubſtance, ſeduce my wife, and diſgrace my daughter, without forfeiting his character. Moſt of the *men of honour* in France we ſhould put to death in China, as execrable villains; yet *there* are very few people of any note in the kingdom without *ſome honour*; but, happily for the nation, it is only the quality and gentry who worſhip it; the middling and low claſſes are ſtrangers to it; they ſcarce know that there is any ſuch thing.

Whatever attachment the French may affect to have to honour, infamy, its natural rival, was gaining ground ſo faſt, that it was thought neceſſary to erect a tribunal in ſupport of its rights, and to check the progreſs of its rival. A code was compoſed with a digeſt of general laws, for what would not admit of a general regulation, being the particular prejudice of everyind ividual.

This tribunal, by its wiſe management, has itſelf put arms into the hands of infamy. At preſent two bullies who have publickly made a ſhew of fighting, yet

yet in their hearts have little inclination to it, are committed to guards here called marſhals of France, who never leave them till they have given their word of honour that they will continue poltroons. Every man *of honour* who has been robbed at play, is to pay the ſum he has been robbed of, and to do honour to the laws of knavery. Indeed a new regulation has lately been iſſued, that a *man of honour* is at one ſitting to win no more at play than the amount of the ſum ſpecified in the king's ordinance. One of the greateſt errors of the tribunal, is to have made a difference between the rights of the citizens and thoſe of the *man of honour*, and to have forgot that the fundamental conſtitution is the baſis on which every juriſdiction ſhould reſt.

A gentleman here borrows a thouſand ounces of ſilver as a citizen, and from another hand a hundred taels as *a man of honour*; he needs only to declare his inability to pay that ſum, and on the latter creditor's putting him under guard of the marſhals of France, the firſt creditor cannot proſecute him: from that inſtant

inſtant the civil laws have no hold on him.

So much I can with truth tell you concerning *honour*; yet as all the other Deities worſhipped by the Europeans have a temple, and this is no where to be found, I may all this while have been amuſing you about a chimera.

LETTER XXI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the ſame, at* Pekin.

Paris.

OF a more ancient date than the *point of honour*, is another idol called Glory; but this, like honour, has neither houſe nor home, nor is there any particular temple aſſigned for its worſhip.

Its origin is of very great antiquity; the Romans in their robberies over the univerſe, worſhipped it greatly, but after the downfal of their empire this deity diſappeared, ſo as to be no more talked of. It was not till after fifteen hundred centuries that the Europeans heard any thing of her. About that time

time ſhe again made her appearance in the world, and her approach was ſignified by a terrible clatter of arms: Francis I. a King of France, is ſaid to have brought her into great vogue.

This deity, if ſhe be one, muſt be a mere ſkeleton, for moſt of her votaries are ſtarving. Her exiſtence is in her name; though continually evaporating, it is never ſpent. She is of a barbarous temper, delighting in terror and deſolation; her deſcent is from war, and in a right line. Her followers are aſſaſſins by profeſſion; the murders committed by them differ only in appearance from thoſe which the laws puniſh: all the malefactors put to death here with ſo many circumſtances of ignominy, would be eſteemed glorious fellows, if, inſtead of taking away life one way, they had killed in another.

This deity is generally more followed than honour itſelf, almoſt every claſs being ſuſceptible of it. The common people, who do only one thing, and ſee but one object, often neglects them for glory. Sometimes, in ſupport of their rights, they will part with all they have.

The ſoldier (who every where is taken from the dregs of the people) leaves

alty, leaves his home, lifts, fights, and dies, for that glory which he knows nothing of, but from talk; even they who have no honour, devote themſelves to glory.

It has a kind of active virtue, which inſtantly cures ſloth and indolence. Its bare name reanimates the ſtate, and gives it a new life. Whatever lethargy the nation may fall into, it never fails awaking at theſe words, *Frenchmen, glory calls ye.*

This chimerical deity is the ſtrongeſt ſupport of the French throne; to her the King of France owes all his ſplendor, if, in reality, he has any.

In order to promote its intereſt on earth, it was for aſſociating itſelf with another deity, called Juſtice, and, of all others, the moſt reſpectable among mankind; but the latter refuſed to have any concern with an inſolent ſanguinary wretch, which ſets itſelf above all law or rectitude, and moſt of whoſe virtues are founded in guilt.

Glory, like honour, has its morality, ſuch as it is: it prohibits neither debauchery nor the depravation of morals; it is

is not incompatible with crimes of the deepeſt dye. A villain who ſeduces all the women he can, who ſtamps infamy on worthy families, a ſcoundrel whoſe life is a nuſance in civil ſociety, may be one of its followers; for ſuch is the force of prejudice here, that a man may, at the ſame time, be loaded with infamy, and be eminent in glory.

LETTER XXII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the ſame, at* Pekin.

Paris.

FRANCE had formerly a club compoſed of men remarkably ſtout, whoſe profeſſed employment was to ſpeak ill of women; they overflowed with invectives againſt the female ſex, and, as if defaming them by bitter ſayings was not enough, they were at the trouble of writing long ſatires againſt them; ſo that the women were not only inſulted in their own time, but even miſrepreſented to poſterity.

Women being naturally gentle, and little diſpoſed to war, at firſt had recourſe to mediation, and appointed plenipotentiaries.

tiaries. Theſe were young abbés who had often diſtinguiſhed themſelves among the ladies, and who have always been favoured with their confidence. Several conferences were held; but their miniſters meeting with oppoſition, and the men ſtill continuing hoſtilities, they at length levied troops and took the field themſelves. Having gained over a great number of brave officers, and their army being headed by able generals, they obtained ſeveral victories; this brought about a ſuſpenſion of arms, and ſoon after the peace was ſigned between the two parties. It was agreed, that, as before, it ſhould be free to think ill of women, but that for the future nothing but good ſhould be ſaid of them. It is undoubtedly ſince this treaty that all thoſe fulſome and inſipid praiſes have been continually offered here to the ſex, and to which the heart gives the lie.

After all, nothing could be better: a gay and ſprightly nation living in ſuch freedom of converſe, ſhould not be out of humour with a ſex which they meet with at every ſtep. At preſent, indeed, authors of any politeneſs no longer rail at them

them in their works; and they who affect the reputation of fine writers, ſpare their very faults, and give an advantageous turn to their imperfections. Some ſlanderers of women are ſtill to be found; but they are looked on as miſanthropes, or troubleſome people, and not admitted into polite companies.

In order to prevent a freſh civil war, and hinder the army of the enemy from aſſembling again, an act of conformity has been paſſed: on the detection of any ſchiſmatic in regard to women, he is obliged to make his public abjuration in theſe words. *I believe in women, their merit, their wit, and charms; I proteſt that during my whole life I will be their moſt humble admirer*; that I will ſtand *up for them in every thing and every where*, whilſt I have *breath to utter a word, &c.* This form is ſaid to have for its author a famous defender of the fair ſex, called Don Quixotte.

The French are avaricious or over generous; when they grant, they almoſt always grant more than they ſhould. It is now a received maxim in France, that women form the character of men. With ſubmiſſion to the act of conformity, I believe

believe the effect is here miſtaken for the cauſe. In order to this, women ſhould have a character of their own. The following piece of morality is what I ſhall never diſcloſe while I am in Europe, as it would certainly bring me into trouble with the ſex.

I believe that the virtues of women are no more than adventitious characters; that nothing, not ſo much as their vices, belongs to them; I look upon their qualities as a capital borrowed from men, of which they are every day paying them the intereſt in pleaſure; and that they return to them in retail what they received by wholeſale.

LETTER XXI.

The Mandarin Kié-tou-na, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* Paris.

Pekin.

WE ſtill hold our meeting as if you was with us, though there is not one who does not perceive your abſence. The uſual topic of our converſation is the morality of civil governments. Yeſterday a queſtion was propoſed, whether ſocieties could ſubſiſt of themſelves, independently

pendently of virtue, and be perpetuated by the force of order alone. The diſcuſion carried us ſo far, that ſeveral of our Mandarins began to doubt of the reality of this virtue.

They ſaid that ſeveral nations of the earth had founded good governments without any acquaintance with it: whereupon ſome concluded, what is ſo called to be no more than a name; or, to uſe their expreſſion, a certain diſpoſition of ſecond cauſes, agreeing with the firſt.

For my part, I cannot believe that the world is conducted thus by mere chance: inform us whether this virtue is eſtabliſhed in the climates where thou art, and whether any ſociety whatever can be without it; for if it exiſts, and be ſomething real among mankind, it muſt be known in Europe as well as in Aſia.

LETTER XXIV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

I make no doubt but ſome of our Mandarins carried their ſophiſtry ſo far as to call in queſtion the reality of that virtue, which is the ſoul of the world, and the univerſal band of ſociety; this diſorder of the imagination is generally the conſequence of the mind being driven to and fro by argumentations. Principles are to be laid down and inviolably adhered to.

The union of mankind is the work of wiſdom, the eſſence of which is virtue.

A civil ſociety, with no other baſis than a certain diſpoſition of ſecond cauſes, would come to an end with them; order alone, unſupported by any other ſentiment, cannot ſuffice; it would leave a void which would be filled up by diſcord and diſſenſion; ſo that order would often be productive of diſorder.

There is therefore ſomething more which binds us to our duties, and we feel

feel it within ourſelves in the diſcharge of them.

This virtue, when relative to the Divine Being, is the love of God; when directed to the ſociety of which we are members, it is the love of one's country.

All the ſocieties formed on the earth have ever taken it for their model.

The Europeans, who practiſe it the leaſt, have eſtabliſhed it in all their governments: this is an homage paid to its excellency.

The whole univerſe, in my opinion, affords not any thing ſo grand, ſo admirable, as the law of nations, which compoſe the chriſtian commonwealth.

I will now give you a view of it, and lead you through all the apartments of the civil virtues of the chriſtian world. I don't mean thoſe which they practiſe; but thoſe, to the obſervance of which they have bound themſelves; an obligation with which we are little acquainted, becauſe, having no communication with any other people on earth, our laws reſpect only ourſelves.

In the law of the nations of Europe, the nations are perſonified; they become

men, owing mutual regards to each other. A man is not to do any hurt or damage to another, becauſe he would not have any done to him; this principle of equity in which all are included, is the baſis of the law of nations.

There are three ſorts of governments in Europe: one nation governs itſelf, makes laws, and every claſs has a ſhare in the adminiſtration; this is called a democratical ſtate. A ſecond is governed by a ſenate, which forms an ariſtocracy; in others, as with us, the ſovereignty is intruſted to one ſingle perſon.

Theſe three governments have laws, which being calculated for the happineſs of individuals, promote the public advantage. Each ſociety has both obligations and duties to be fulfilled, and this law of nations determines them.

The duty of ſovereigns towards the people, and the obligations of the ſubjects towards the throne, are ſpecified therein.

There are kings who are born ſuch, others are made by the people: to the former the crown is hereditary, that of the latter belongs to the people, as the diſpoſers

diſpoſers of it: but this diſtinction makes no manner of alteration in the prerogative of the crown and the rights of the ſubject.

The ſovereign finds his happineſs in the good of his people, and the people their good in the happineſs of the ſovereign. Theſe two rights can never be ſeparated, without injury both to prince and people.

Agriculture is a part, or rather the baſis of it; as hence the people derive their ſubſiſtence, and every principle of greatneſs lies in exiſtence. It enacts laws, for granting rewards to thoſe who, by their ingenuity, make any uſeful improvements.

Of this commerce is a conſequence; accordingly it is not leſs mindful of making regulations for protecting and countenancing it, and thus increaſing its branches.

It fixes the coin, which is the repreſentative ſign of price and value, and the circulation of which diffuſes plenty and affluence; a moſt wiſe inſtitution, had not its principle been depraved from the beginning.

But all this is no more than the mechaniſm of ſociety; there is a ſcope to which all men aſpire, namely, felicity; and this does not conſiſt in the conveniencies and enjoyments of life. There are nations very wealthy, and yet very unhappy: it is political liberty and knowledge which conſtitute this happineſs. Under mental darkneſs a man is beneath himſelf, and ſlavery reduces his condition on a footing with that of beaſts. The European law of nations is promotive of knowledge, and corrects the pernicious maxims of deſpotiſm, which might turn every nation into a ſociety of ſlaves. And yet even this is not real happineſs; it purely conſiſts in the practice of virtue, which is recommended by the law of nations, or rather it is the law of nations itſelf.

Religion is the foundation of it; it is ſhe who guides its ſteps, and directs all its proceedings.

Juſtice is its moſt firm ſupport; for, where the citizen is not in ſafety, and his ſubſtance and honour may be forcibly taken from him, there can be no law of nations.

This

This juſtice conſiſts in good laws, and in puniſhments ſuited to the nature of crimes; and to put a ſtop to all arbitrary proceedings, theſe puniſhments ſhould be written.

The law of nations teaches the Europeans, that it is not enough to be powerful at home, without ſtrengthening one's ſelf abroad; for if every people ſhould be on its guard againſt itſelf, much more ought it to be ſo againſt ſtrangers.

It erects a police, which gives birth to order and ſubordination, and augments the ſtrength of ſtates, by multiplying the number of citizens, omitting nothing for the encouragement of marriage.

Its plan alſo does not exclude glory; if it be but a ſhadow, it is a ſhadow which gives ſolidity to bodies. The law of nations encourages a people to procure this glory, the acquiſition of it gaining the reſpect of all other ſtates, who ever prefer a poor ally of reputation to an inglorious one, though ever ſo opulent.

This law not only inſtructs great nations in the government of themſelves, but alſo teaches how petty ſtates ſhould behave; it lays down the means of obtaining the protection of large

political bodies, without prejudice to their own ſovereignty. In order to this, it has contrived voluntary ceſſions, homages and tributes; which, without any diminution of their rank, ſecure them from the attacks of a more powerful enemy.

All nations not being ſettled, and tranſmigrations from one country to another being ſometime neceſſary, the law of nations teaches the Europeans the methods of making legal ſettlements in new countries, whether without proprietors or already inhabited. This is a great article in the law of nations: but the moſt conſiderable is that which lays before a people the duties they owe to their country, and the obligations incumbent on them, as ſubjects of a ſociety whence they derive their exiſtence, and to which they owe their ſecurity.

States have properties; this law teaches nations how they are to poſſeſs them, and ſubjects the right enjoyment of them.

The alienation of properties alſo comes under its notice. It determines in what caſe a nation may lawfully ſell or alienate them, without injury to the right of the public or individuals.

The

The poſſeſſion of lakes, waters, and rivers, concerning which in China we have nothing written, there being no diſpute about them with us, in Europe makes a part of the law of nations. It regulates to whom they lawfully belong; and this is not one of the leaſt prerogatives of nations.

The ſea likewiſe is a capital point, and herein the law decides which are the nations who have a right of fiſhing and ſailing in them; this branch may be accounted, as it were, the written naval law of Europe.

LETTER XXV.

To the ſame.

THE nations, as members of the univerſal ſociety, have their reciprocal duties and obligations; they are to aſſiſt each other as parts of a body, whoſe end is to contribute to the general good. Theſe duties and obligations, together with their limits, are indicated in this law.

The individuals of each ſociety have dignities, honours and diſtinctions; but

as they might incroach on each other, and thus acquire a ſuperiority, this law has regulated them, and fixed the precedencies. Nations are independent one of another, and in this lies their ſecurity; but as ſuch independency might ſwell into a general deſpotiſm, the law of nations has laid down limits.

There is a general genius in nations directing their public actions, and rendering them more or leſs capable of aggrandizing themſelves; but as ſome might take too much advantage over others, the law of nations, to remedy this, preſcribes regulations, by which all people are encouraged to acquire the like knowledge and informations: to this it is owing that in all governments an emulation after knowledge is ſeen to make nearly an equal progreſs.

As an intercourſe is neceſſary between different people, having general intereſts, it was proper to regulate what is due to ſtrangers; and theſe points are alſo ſettled by this law.

Some nations have prerogatives over others: in the want of rules to know the extent of ſuch prerogatives, thoſe powerful nations would ſoon affect a tyranny, and

and the general common wealth would be enſlaved; this the law of nations prevents.

There are, however, uſurpations and forced dependencies, for the law of nations cannot prevent every thing; but if it be not in its power to hinder violence and oppreſſion, at leaſt it hinders oppreſſion from being carried to a certain point; which is a national right.

Nations unite and form connections together by treaties, which in their nature are inviolable, yet not indiſſoluble; this ſame law forms and annuls them, when the reaſons for which they were entered into no longer ſubſiſt; but it being a point of human prudence to make uſe of guaranties by way of precaution, it often enjoins the taking of ſureties for the obſervance of conventions.

LETTER XXVI.

To the ſame.

BUT it is particularly in war that the excellency of the law of nations diſplays itſelf. There are wars of ſeveral kinds, and its buſineſs is to be the arbiter of all. It is this law which appoints the form and declaration of them; it diſtinguiſhes from among all the enemies the right of each, and ſettles between the allies and auxiliaries both the form and duration of the ſubſidies.

It allows of a neutrality amidſt the rage of war, ſieges and battles.

And what is ſtill more, this law enjoins good faith among enemies, and by it nations owe every thing to one another at a time when they think they owe nothing.

In the caſe of an unjuſt war it decrees, that the Prince who is the author of it incurs the whole guilt occaſioned by it, and charges him with all the uſurpations, violences, and oppreſſions, which are, in ſome meaſure, as a neceſſary atttendance on it.

It ſettles the right of conqueſts, and by its deciſions the conquered recovers all his rights

rights at the very inſtant he gives them up.

It compenſates for the depredations committed by the licentiouſneſs of war, and enjoins that the territories and poſſeſſions of the enemy, which he had loſt, and which he acquires again, be reſtored to him in their former condition.

It takes cognizance of priſoners of war, ſettles their ranſom, regulates the exchange of them.

It enjoins peace, and ſhews the advantage of that ſtate; it enacts, that conventions for the public tranquility be ſacred, and lays down rules for the execution of them.

When any particular caſe requires the breaking of them, it preſcribes the ceremonies and procedures to be obſerved in the rupture. But this ſame law of nations, which ſhould be the ſource of mighty benefits to Europe, is the cauſe of moſt of its evils; for the Europeans pervert every thing, even virtue itſelf: accordingly I do not give you this law as a reality, but as the repreſentation of a non-entity.

LETTER XXVII.

To the ſame.

THE French government is ſaid to be fallen to the diſtaff; that is, directed by a woman. The Pariſian wags ſay on this head, that ſtateſmen wear patches and ribbons, and military commanders pinners. They add, that there are five or ſix days in the month when buſineſs goes on ſtrangely, on account of a common diſtemper which comes on the ruling female; and then the monarchy is likewiſe out of order.

In China we are ſtrangers to this diſtaff-government: not that our Emperors are exempt from all weakneſſes; they are men, but ſtate-affairs have nothing to do with the Prince's bed; his duties are never affected by his pleaſures. When any of his female ſlaves gains an aſcendancy over him, it is a domeſtic and not deſpotic ſway. Her dominion does not reach beyond her chamber, where her charms are abſolute. In this receſs ſhe can do every thing, out of it ſhe can do nothing. The ſtate does not ſuffer by it, as having nothing in common with the

the monarch's amour; though the Prince may be weak, the empire ſtill retains its ſtrength. The Sovereign would not be obeyed, were it known that his orders are the dictates of a ſlave. It is ſufficiently mortifying for men to obey a man, without the addition of a woman's humours.

LETTER XXVIII.

Cham-pi-pi *to the ſame.*

Paris.

CHINA expects the hiſtory of Europe from me, but how can that be, till Europe has a hiſtory? The conſtitution of moſt governments will not allow of faithful annals: among Chriſtians, the eſtabliſhed religion and the throne are too intimately connected to have any authentic writers.

What is read as hiſtory, is no more than a rhapſody of claſhing ideas, contradicting one another. After collecting about an hundred hiſtorians on this part of the univerſe, I find them one and all deceivers and falſifiers.

There are two powers among the Chriſtians, which ſtand in oppoſition to exactneſs

neſs in relating facts, the ſpiritual and the temporal. The former forbids hiſtorians to ſay the truth, and the ſecond permits them only to publiſh falſities; one would be entirely ruined, were the veil which covers it removed; and the other would bluſh, were the maſk which hides it plucked off.

There is, however, an account of the whole world, a chaos of European hiſtory; ever ſince my being here, I have been labouring to come at the key of it, and to get a knowledge of the origin of facts. In this multiplicity of events, true, falſe, chimerical, or ſuppoſitious, it is not an eaſy taſk to ſift out impoſture; this is what I am labouring at: I clear away to the right and left, and endeavour to open to myſelf a path to truth, through an ocean of falſities.

When I meet with an article well verified, and of a proper workmanſhip, I lay it by, and purſue my inveſtigations; thus, as it were, I am collecting the materials of Europe, in order to make a preſent to my country of the entire edifice. I ſhall ſend you the plan; but that a letter may not be ſwelled into a book, you will receive it only by piece-meal, and not the whole at once; and, inſtead of giving it

a Chi-

a Chineſe dreſs, I ſhall leave it in its European garb.

LETTER XXIX.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* Paris.

Lyons.

I Reached Lyons the 5th day after my leaving Paris in a carriage called the *Diligence*. It is a very diſagreeable conveniency; you travel night and day without time either to eat or ſleep. Foreigners outſtrip the horſes, and arrive before the *Diligence*. The worſt of this carriage is the being obliged to hear the idle tattle of the company; it ſeldom is without a witling, who takes upon him to make others merry, and makes it his buſineſs to raiſe a laugh; but the misfortune is, that his witticiſms are too low and inſipid, and the jolts too violent to have any ſleep.

The city of Lyons is ſaid to be Paris's youngeſt ſiſter, if it be ſo, they are not by the ſame venter; ſhe is a baſtard, without either the nobility or figure of her elder ſiſter. She has degraded herſelf

ſelf by trade, and at preſent deals in nothing but ſilks and ribbons.

On entering the city, you immediately ſmell the warps and woofs; and ends of ſilk hang out every where.

The people of Lyons are one degree more ſtupid than thoſe of Paris, and leſs good by two degrees. They make nothing of taking up arms againſt their Mandarins or Magiſtrates; and they refuſe to lay them down, till a capitulation is ſigned with them. They have cart-loads of taffata, on which they ſet the value by force of arms: it is always the price of work which kindles the war.

This people are in general mere machines, their genius is as often out of ſorts as a ſtocking-weaver's loom; every part is mechanical. Their moſt extenſive knowledge is caſting accompts; their religion is intereſt, and money their god.

The Lionnois has two natures, one dull, heavy, and ſtupid; the other intelligent, acute and cunning; in ſocial intercourſe he is very contracted, but in that leading to gain a perfect eagle. All the ways that his natural avidity can ſuggeſt he ardently puts in practice.

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LETTER XXX.

Kié-tou-na *to* Cham-pi-pi.

Pekin.

THE EUROPEAN Mathematicians here, at our court, are often crying up to us an European ſcience, to which they give the name of policy; they will have it to be the moſt excellent of ſciences, and eſteem it the baſis of government.

This definition the more ſurpriſes me, having always thought that laws and morals were ſufficient ſupports to empires; and that to uphold the one, and hinder the others from being corrupted would perpetuate a ſtate. As thou art in the country where this ſcience received its birth, inform me what it is, and what are its tenets and principles.

The more I reflect on the ſpring which puts the different ſocieties of the world in motion, the more complicated I find them. If this policy be abſolutely neceſſary to the ſtates of Europe, and their very exiſtence depends on it, I own it is very ſurpriſing that our government ſhould have been able to ſubſiſt for more than

than four thouſand years, without a ſcience which ſupports the ſyſtem of the Chriſtian Princes.

LETTER XXXI.

Cham-pi-pi, *to* Kié-tou-na.

Paris.

YEſterday morning, as I was putting on my cloaths, I heard a noiſe in the ſtreet, like that of a great concourſe of people; and aſking my landlord what was the matter, he told me, the King was juſt come to Paris. On my further inquiring whether it was the King of India or Japan? he anſwered, it was the King of France.

Strangers are ſhewn here a huge palace, called the *Louvre*, big enough for ſeveral Kings, yet without ſo much as one. The King of France, inſtead of dwelling with his people, reſides in the foreſt of Verſailles, among ſtags, hinds, and deer. When he paſſes through Paris, it is in purſuit of a covey of partridges, which has eſcaped him in St. Dennis's Plain; and, if he comes here pre-

premeditately, it is to the opera houſe, or a puppet ſhow.

The great family of the ſtate live ſeparately; the father on one ſide, and the children on the other. Thou can'ſt not think what a deal of trouble and vexation he ſaves himſelf thereby. Did he live at Paris, he would be continually peſtered with his ſubjects; one petitioning for redreſs, another complaining of being wronged; another with a plan for amending a grievance, another for laying before him the faults in the adminiſtration. Now, by dwelling at Verſailles, he is free from all theſe incumbrances, and is not obliged to know, what he ought by no means to be ignorant of.

The miniſterial Mandarins would be undone, as then it would be an eaſy matter to acquaint the Monarch, that every thing goes by intrigue and favour; whereas, by his abſence, ſuch things come to be forgotten; and this is a ſecret which he is never informed of.

To take a journey to Verſailles would be only loſt labour; every thing there being arranged ſo as to preclude the people

people from any communication with their Sovereign.

If any one comes with a complaint of being aggrieved; *The King is juſt gone a hunting*. Should he come a ſecond time, *A great council is to be held to-day*. If he holds out againſt theſe two diſappointments, and takes a third journey, *There is no ſpeaking to his Majeſty*; *an extraordinary courier is juſt come from the army*. And this low artifice is carried on till the complainant, quite diſheartened, at ſo many fruitleſs jaunts, ſits down under his injury.

"He is on his laſt legs," ſaid lately a miniſterial Mandarin's firſt clerk, ſpeaking of a perſon who wanted to lay a complaint againſt him before the King: "He has almoſt broke his back; "this is his tenth trip to Verſailles, "and to as much purpoſe as the firſt. "I have taken care to recommend him "properly; ſo that twenty others will "be ſure to meet with the ſame ſucceſs."

Many a Frenchman never ſaw his Sovereign; he has only heard that there is a King of France.

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LETTER XXXII.

The Mandarin Catao-yu-ſe, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* Paris.

Pekin.

SINCE thy departure we have had an event, the like of which has never been known in our empire. The laws of marriage, in China, thou knoweſt, are ſacred and inviolable. A citizen living with a ſlave, to whom he has been lawfully married, is ſure of not being moleſted in the poſſeſſion of her perſon. The Sovereign, great as his power is over his ſubjects, cannot take away their wives from them. This veneration paid to marriage, is a moſt admirable inſtitute for keeping up domeſtic and civil order. However, a Mandarin of the firſt claſs, who was for advancing himſelf through the aggrandiſement of a beautiful woman of his acquaintance, took on him to break that law, and preſented her at court. The Emperor, with all his wiſdom, is but a man: he was ſmitten, and declared her his favourite

vourite ſlave. The huſband, in his extreme affliction at ſuch a caſe, addreſſed the following memorial to the Emperor. I ſend it to thee, to tranſlate it into ſome European language, that it may be a document to any Chriſtian Prince, who has invaded his ſubject's property in ſo tender a point.

MEMORIAL

Of ——— citizen of Pekin, preferring a complaint againſt our moſt ſublime Emperor, for having robbed me of my wife, and lying with her every night, though ſhe belongs to me, and is my fleſh and my bones. I declare in this memorial, that in caſe he does not reſtore her to me, I have a right to account him a tyrant, and raiſe an inſurrection in the empire, to drive him from the throne, as unworthy of it; and what I further ſay and declare, he will himſelf read in this memorial.

" Magnificent Emperor, Firmament " of the World, greateſt of all the " ſtars which are in the ſky: Sun,

" whence

" whence is it that thy wiſdom, which
" is equal to that of God, and has hi-
" therto never varied, ſhould of late
" alter its courſe?

" I had a lawful wife: I married her
" before the Mandarin appointed to ſu-
" perintend marriages, and thou haſt
" taken her from me. Thou not
" only depriveſt me of my nightly de-
" lights, and the enjoyment of a woman
" whom I tenderly love, but likewiſe of
" having heirs: for I have ſix large
" cows, which daily yield me a great
" deal of milk; four large pieces of
" land, fit for growing rice; two hun-
" dred orange-trees, and five hundred
" other fruit-trees, and a large fiſh-pond
" with the fineſt carps in the whole em-
" pire. But what goes neareſt my heart
" is, the gibes and flouts of my acquain-
" tances, who, with an ironical gravi-
" ty, are perpetually wiſhing me joy of
" my affinity with the imperial family;
" and ſome, to vex me the more, aſk
" me when my ſpouſe lies in? Others
" cry up to me, the ſatisfaction of having
" children at ſo cheap a rate! I am the
" butt of all the neighbourhood; every
" body looks on me as a dolt.

"I know not, ſublime Emperor, what "could have induced you to take ſuch "a liking to my wife. To be ſure ſhe "does not want beauty, yet ſhe is not "very inviting; and, were not I her "huſband, very glad ſhould I be that "thou hadſt rid me of her. She has an "ugly diſorder, which, before her mar-"riage, was known only to herſelf, but "which at preſent, thou, ſhe, and I, "are acquainted with.

"To ſpeak plainly, mighty Prince, "ſhe piſſes a-bed every night; ſo that in "the morning two ſlaves were conſtant-"ly ſet to waſh the ſheets, and burn per-"fumes in the chamber.

"I muſt farther warn thee, thou Sun "of the World, that ſhe is a very cun-"ning gipſey. She will at firſt practiſe "on thee her little arts; act droll plays, "ſing, dance, tell thee entertaining ſto-"ries, divert thee with the occurrences "of Pekin, of which ſhe will take care "to get the firſt intelligence; then ſhe "will perſuade thee that ſhe loves thy "perſon beyond thy crown, will ſtudy "thy inclinations, capacity, and tem-"per, will be prying into thy weak "ſide, and when once ſhe has made

"theſe

" theſe diſcoveries, there is an end of
" thy being Emperor; ſhe alone will
" bear all the ſway; thou wilt be the
" ſlave of thy ſlave; ſhe will diſpoſe of
" every thing like an uncontroulable So-
" vereign; ſhe will ſeat herſelf in thy
" throne, and reign in thy ſtead; ſhe
" will diſpoſe of thy principal poſts as
" ſhe thinks fit; ſhe will ſell all employ-
" ments, and make money of thy fa-
" vours; ſhe will amaſs prodigious trea-
" ſures, to the great hindrance of circu-
" lation and trade; ſhe will compel thee
" to baniſh thy ableſt miniſters, and ſub-
" ſtitute her ignorant worthleſs creatures
" in their place; ſhe will ſtrip the an-
" cient families of their hereditary dig-
" nities, and confer them on mean up-
" ſtarts: in a word, ſhe will cauſe an
" univerſal diſturbance and confuſion.
" For I know my wife; ſhe has a great
" deal of ambition, with very little ca-
" pacity. She was not able to govern
" my houſe; then you may judge how
" ſhe will govern thy empire.

" If theſe reaſons have no weight
" with thee, I have ſome ſtill more con-
" ſiderable. Thou art God's vicege-
" rent on earth; imitate then his juſ-

" tice; and, if thou regardeſt not ju-
" ſtice, at leaſt conſult thy intereſt. On
" virtue depends not only thy power,
" but thy very ſafety. Could the di-
" vine wiſdom deviate one moment from
" itſelf, the conſequence would be, the
" deſtruction of heaven and earth; the
" univerſe would ſink into its primary
" nothing. A Monarch, who is want-
" ing to himſelf, gives his people a
" handle to be wanting to him; for, not
" being virtuous himſelf, how can he
" expect his people to be ſo? and, if
" they are not, to what danger is he not
" expoſed? It is owing ſolely to the
" breaking of this band, that ſo many
" Emperors and Kings have been tum-
" bled from their thrones. The Sove-
" reign's example is a diſtemper which
" ſpreads its contagion through all
" ranks; even the virtuous are ſoon
" infected by it.

" If thou thinkeſt thou haſt a power
" to take away another man's wife, the
" Mandarins will think themſelves au-
" thoriſed to follow thy example; and
" then what will become of juſtice and
" tranquillity? The people will be with-
" out a protector; the Prince's wiſdom,

" which

" which was its protection, being vitia-
" ted and depraved.

" The ſubordination between the So-
" vereign and the ſubject, is a conſe-
" quence of his virtue; that ceaſing,
" ſubordination ceaſes with it. Then
" the wild beaſt, having broken his
" chain, may devour the Prince. I
" looked into the laws of the ſtate, in
" order to right myſelf in a court of
" judicature, but not one law is there
" which redreſſes the citizens in my caſe.
" Unqueſtionably, our firſt legiſlators
" held this crime to be ſo abominable in
" majeſty, that they thought no Sove-
" reign of China would ever be ar-
" raigned of it. But, though the legi-
" ſlation ſcreens you from a proſecution,
" it ſhall not ſhield you from my reſent-
" ment. The Prince's life is in the
" power of any ſubject, however mean,
" who does not fear death; and why
" ſhould he? it is even a relief from
" his diſtreſſes.

" Should'ſt thou fail to reſtore me
" my wife, after reading this memorial,
" I here declare that I diſown thy autho-
" rity, and ſhall conſider myſelf diſ-

" charged from the oath of fidelity
" which I took to thee as thy ſubject.
" I will get together all the maleconten-
" tents I can, and go about the empire,
" crying, O ye people of China, the
" Emperor who now ſits on the throne
" is a tyrant! He has taken my wife
" from me, and publickly lives with her.
" I intreat you, in the name of Confu-
" cius himſelf, who never meant that
" his followers ſhould be treated with
" ſuch indignity, help me to do myſelf
" juſtice; and, ſhould they be deaf to
" my clamour, do not imagine that thy
" crime will go unpuniſhed; rather fear
" the worſt from a ſubject, into whoſe
" hand love and deſpair have put the
" avenging weapon, &c."

This memorial was, to the Emperor, as a clap of thunder: his mind became ſuddenly enlightened. So far from ſeeing in this ſeditious ſtile a rebellious ſubject, it impreſſed him with a ſenſe of his own guilt. He immediately ordered the citizen's wife to be reſtored to him; and, as for the Mandarin who had introduced her, he was baniſhed into a remote province. The citizen, being come to himſelf, perceived his inſolent raſhneſs, and went

went and threw himſelf at the Emperor's feet, as guilty of high treaſon, in its moſt flagrant degree, ſtretching out his head to ſuffer for his offence.

His memorial was referred to an extraordinary council of Mandarins, who unanimouſly brought in the author guilty of rebellion, and condemned him to ſuffer death; but the Emperor pardoned him, on condition that he and his wife ſhould remove from Pekin.

LETTER XXXIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Same, at* Pekin.

Paris.

THE French government is monarchical, that is, ideal; for never was ſuch a one on the face of the earth, or, at leaſt, which could ſupport itſelf any time.

It is a ſtate of violence, either ſoon converted into a republic, or degenerating into deſpotiſm. At firſt, the monarchical conſtitution eſtabliſhed the balance between the Prince and ſubjects; ſeveral bodies formed from the nature of this government, conſtitute the equi-

librium; but injuries ſoon commence, and a war follows. If the people have the worſt of it, the Monarch ſets up an unlimited authority.

This is the preſent caſe of France. The French, to be ſure, ſtruggled a long time with their King in ſupport of their rights; but the King, being the ſtronger, ſuppreſſed the privileges of the ſeveral intermediate inferior powers, which made a part in this government, and, on the ruins of monarchy, erected a ſingle power.

No body of men in France can, at preſent, oppoſe the King's will with any effect. To whatever ſide his prerogative leans, it forces down the ſcale with it. If he ſtill leaves a ſhadow of power to any one, it is, becauſe it would not be always for the intereſt of Princes to ſhew themſelves as abſolute as they are. An appearance of liberty ſerves for the more ſure eſtabliſhment of ſlavery. The ſtate would be too weak, did the ſubject come to know that they are totally ſlaves: they may be allowed to ſurmiſe ſuch a thing, but not to ſee it.

There is a court here, with ſomething of a phantom of authority, called the parliament,

liament, and ſaid to have been entirely erected to ſupport the privileges of the nation. It can make repreſentations to the King, ſet forth the neceſſities of the ſtate, and the ſufferings of the people. This is the only power remaining to it; and of this it had been deprived, did it not, itſelf, contribute to ſtrengthen that very abſolute power, which it would deſtroy.

LETTER XXXIV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin Hiſtoriographer, at* Pekin.

Paris.

I HERE ſend you ſome of the principal epochas of Europe. A knowledge of the great revolutions of empires ſoon lets us into the genius and temper of the people.

The Romans, by their conqueſt of the world, had given an air of grandeur to Europe; but, on their declenſion, it fell into its primary abaſement whence they had raiſed it. A thick darkneſs overſpread this part of the univerſe. In this condition, it would perhaps have con-

tributed to its happineſs to have been under ſome potent uſurper, who might have rouſed it from that general lethargy; but thoſe times afforded none of that ambitious bias. In the European annals, we meet with ages, when men have neither vices nor virtues.

Europe was then divided among a multitude of petty tyrants, unable to extend their dominions. None of them had the ſpirit, or, which is generally the ſame thing, the ambition to diſpoſſeſs others, and rule like an abſolute Prince.

For many generations ſucceſſively this part of the globe was, as it were, concentered in itſelf. The reſt of the world heard not a word of it, till the time of a certain Emperor, who gave it ſome luſtre and importance.

This Emperor, whom the Chriſtians call Charles the Great, was great enough to form a ſingle nation, but by much too little to be at the head of all Europe. He was ſo much taken up with his perſonal concerns, that he had no view beyond his conqueſts, and only followed his fortune. There is room to ſuſpect that he aimed at nothing higher than to make

make a noiſe in the world. With all his numberleſs inſtitutions and regulations, he left Europe even as he found it. Agriculture made no part of his plan; he found the earth uncultivated, and he left it fallow.

The long and obſtinate wars of Charles the Great ſhew him to have delighted more in thinning than in re-eſtabliſhing mankind. The making of juſt laws had no ſhare in his thoughts; though, without ſuch laws, there can be no ſtable authority.

Under him, the impunity of crimes made a part of the law of nations. He who had money, might take away another's life; this moſt atrocious of injuries, the law itſelf authoriſed. The killing of a perſon of rank, coſt about an hundred ounces of ſilver, and ſo of others proportionably. Many an individual had in his coffer the redemption of all his crimes. He could, as it were, realiſe his wickedneſs. All wrongs were aſſeſſed; each had its rate. When a Prince, accounted great, overlooks ſuch enormities, his greatneſs may be ſaid to be only a matter of opinion.

The very kings were the firſt in ſetting an example of ſuch crimes, they were as deep in aſſaſſinations and murders as their ſubjects.

Europe, at that time, ſaw no public edifice, no ſtately monument riſe; the ruins of Roman ſplendor were then the only diſplays of architecture: no ſettled proviſion was made for the ſucceſſion to the throne. The laſt robber who had ſufficient ſtrength, ſeized on the firſt vacant crown, and clapt it on his head. Subjects depoſed their ſovereigns, and ſet up creatures of their own.

Charles the Great's children only increaſed theſe diſorders: they fought with one another for an unſettled empire, and by their broils rendered it ſtill more feeble; ſo that the ray of light which ſhone faintly under that Emperor, only augmented the gloom in which all Europe had formerly been involved. Some powerful tyrant might perhaps in the courſe of time have reduced the ſeveral potentates, among whom Europe was then divided; and from this general anarchy, at leaſt, would have ariſen this good, that there would have been only one maſter; but

but a particular event had changed the whole appearance of things.

The book of the Chriſtian Confucius ſays, that the Son of God put on a mortal form, and expired on the croſs to redeem mankind. After his death a poor fiſherman whom the Chriſtians call Peter, declares himſelf his vicegerent upon earth. He had no commiſſion to ſhew for this, but was believed on his bare word. Peter's ſucceſſors claimed the ſame dignity, and met with the ſame credit. It was ſomething new to ſee a poor Mandarin without any viſible power, ſtand alone in the gap, againſt the whole power of the Roman empire.

This man ſaid to the potentates of Europe: I forbid you to have any power; and I order you to lay your riches at my feet: and you people, attend to my commands: you ſhall eat only what I allow you to eat, unleſs you purchaſe my licence for it. You ſhall not marry your couſins, your aunts, nor your nieces; yet give me money, and it ſhall be allowed you, and you may marry whom you pleaſe. You are to obey me in every thing, and hold me to be infallible in thoſe very things where you evidently perceive

perceive me miſtaken. He ſpoke, and immediately the people bowed their heads in token of their obedience.

It is amazing that ſovereigns ſhould have ſtooped to ſuch ignominy, as to aſk a mortal's leave, and he generally of low birth, to put away a diſagreeable wife, for whom they have no longer an affection. The Europeans do not ſufficiently reflect on this paſſage of their hiſtory. The whole univerſe has not the like. Princes are often deprived of their regalia, but it is very ſeldom that their wills, much leſs their deſires, are forced from them.

The government of Chriſt is the firſt which had been formed among men, without blood-ſhed. The eſtabliſhment of it overthrew the political ſyſtem of the antients. It cut the ſinews of the general power. Here we plainly perceive the cauſe of the preſent debility of Europe. A poor fiſherman did this part of the world more damage than all the forces of the Roman empire.

Its firſt blow affected the general propagation; the ſee of Rome, being afraid of powerful nations, ſtopped the courſe of nature. Celibacy, which it enjoined,

enjoined, diminiſhed mankind. As it dreaded population, it prevented generarations innumerable from exiſting: we may fairly preſume, that, had it not been for St. Peter and his ſucceſſors, there would be ſixty millions of people in Europe more than the preſent computation.

Beſides this void in the human ſpecies, it cauſed another in the produce of the earth. The greater part of the people, forſaking the duties of ſociety, made vows of ſloth, and their whole buſineſs was to contemplate God in a cell. On this Europe, before but indifferently tilled, became a waſte for want of hands, and this part of the univerſe, like China; created to be an ornament to nature, was now rather a diſgrace to it. The new courſe which the ſee of Rome gave to the general wealth of Europe, contributing to throw it into a third ſtate of inaction, it ſucceſſively ſwallowed the riches of every nation. But ſtill a greater miſchief enſued; it cauſed a general revolution in the human mind: its doctrine confounded all ideas: things, to our underſtanding incredible, were to be believed; this was called faith, and reaſon was ſeparated from religion. He who

who would not renounce it, excluded himſelf from the ſociety of the faithful; and this ſociety, ever ſince Chriſt's ſect had got the upper hand, branded all thoſe who excluded themſelves from it.

This faith ſoon came to extend itſelf to every thing; in politics, as in all the other affairs of civil ſociety, men believed without ſeeing, and determined without knowing. And this ſtrange effect was produced merely by the authority of a few men; they ſpoke, and reaſon was mute; a ſad degradation to the human mind!

The greateſt evil was the change which this inſtitution cauſed in the morals: enormous vices ſuperſeded pagan virtues. The Greeks, the Romans, and all the nations in general, to whom the Chriſtians give the name of idolaters, had ever diſtinguiſhed the prieſthood from the civil ſtate. Theſe two powers, which had each their particular vices, were ſeparate; but coming to be confounded under the Popes, the morals became alſo more corrupt.

Never had ancient Rome, in its utmoſt profligacy, perpetrated villainies like thoſe

thoſe with which this modern city has deluged the world. A complication of nefarious crimes, deliberate malignity, and dark villainy, ſprung up every-where.

The ſhadow of the Roman empire, however, ſtill ſubſiſted; but its Emperors had received baptiſm, and this put the finiſhing hand to the ruin of their power. They had divided the empire into two branches, the Eaſt and Weſt; by this ſtep they were ſo enfeebled, that, without the help of ſecond cauſes, which ſupported them for ſeveral centuries, they muſt have immediately ſunk.

The hiſtory of Europe is no longer a ſequel to that of the Greeks and Romans, thoſe lords of the univerſe; but a continued account of ſome petty uſurpers, weakly conteſting for dominions, to which neither they nor the poſſeſſors had any title.

For ſeveral centuries the memoirs of this part of the world are found to be an impenetrable chaos. It exhibits princes who, from being in one part of their lives generous, magnificent, great ſtateſmen, and of intrepid courage; become, in the other part, fearful, weak, and almoſt ſtupid: the people themſelves being carried

carried away by theſe changes, are never in one century what they were in another.

The different ſtates of Europe were formed precipitately, and, as it were, by chance; all are for being governed by the maxims of that Roman power, the phantom of which ſtill exiſts. The origin of modern Europe is a ſurpriſing ſpectacle: it aroſe not from an unanimous agreement of the people, but its eſtabliſhment is merely fortuitous.

LETTER XXXV.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at Paris.*

Lyons.

FROM morning to night I am viſiting the ſilk manufactures, of which this city is full; I am continually amidſt damaſk, I tread on velvet; for Lyons is made of ſilk, and the houſes are of grogram. Here are very few labouring men, all priding themſelves in being artificers; forty thouſand of the inhabitants, inſtead of being employed on the neceſſaries of life, make taffetas.

Lyons

Lyons is ſaid to be France's right eye; for my part, I am to think this eye ſquints, and hence it is that this monarchy ſees every thing wrong.

The advantages of its manufactures are here ſo geometrically demonſtrated by thoſe whoſe intereſt it is to uphold them, that a perſon, undertaking to prove the contrary, would be looked on as an ignoramus in regard to œconomical government. The advantages of manufactures have been ever cried up; and doubtleſs they are a public good; but they loſe that name, when eſtabliſhed on a wrong plan.

Every continent has products peculiar to it, and agreeing with its nature better than others. By the poſition and temperature of France, its natural commodity ſeems to be wool; in which alſo it has the advantage above all its neighbours, the expence in it being little or nothing; kind nature takes the whole charge on herſelf.

All the provinces in France, as I am informed, produce wool, whereas few yield any ſilk. When the firſt matter of its induſtry is to be had from abroad, the conſumption ariſing from the manufacture of it is an evil, becauſe the more is con-

conſumed, the more the ſtate is impoveriſhed.

How many little cloth manufactures have been ruined by the fabricks of Lyons? There are never two equal conſumptions in a kingdom; when one is enlarged, the other muſt neceſſarily decay.

The French always overſhoot their intereſt. One of their Kings had encouraged a few of theſe fabricks in Lyons; this was commendable, and there it ſhould have reſted: but this nation is not made to remain in the ſame place; it muſt always be on the move, either forward or backward.

It would now be a long-winded buſineſs, to bring thoſe who govern France to a clear conviction, that the multitude of ſilk fabricks is a detriment to the ſtate. All the ſeveral parts of the œconomical ſyſtem muſt be taken to pieces; the advantages of the firſt materials muſt be balanced with thoſe of the manufacture; the value of each citizen's work muſt be calculated; that which is the moſt uſeful muſt be diſtinguiſhed, &c. Now what a labour is this to ſtateſmen, whoſe ſole drift is to be miniſters! The ſhorteſt way is to leave things as they are.

LETTER

LETTER XXXVI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

THERE is ſcarce any ſuch thing as giving thee an idea of what the Europeans call policy. It requires that thy heart be corrupted, and that by a long courſe of guilt, thy mind be ſuſceptible of a crowd of artifices and frauds. State-policy *is a certain miſterious behaviour, by which princes endeavour to conceal their vices from each other*; *it is a varniſh laid over public affairs, to give them another colour*; a ſtate-maſk, *under which all kinds of parts are played.* I could willingly define it, by way of excellence, the *art of deceiving, as practiſed by the ſovereigns of Europe.*

All miniſters of ſtate are obliged to be profeſſors in politics; eſpecially the negotiators of crowned heads muſt be thoroughly expert in this ſcience, their principal ſcope being to miſlead thoſe with whom they treat; to make them loſe themſelves in mazes and windings, of which

which they are unacquainted with the out-lets; to put them continually on a wrong ſcent; to affect great candour and openneſs; to extol honour and probity; to be continually haranguing on public faith, and the inviolable ſanctity of the law of nations, yet without minding a ſyllable of either, for a negotiator with virtue would be unfit for his poſt. A prince cannot commit his affairs to an honeſt man; ſince he would be inclined to act on the ſquare, and then all would be loſt. The ſkill of the profeſſor in this ſcience, lies in concealing it; for there is an end of policy where it is perceived. It is learned at the court of kings, that is, it ariſes from the very place which ſhould be the ſanctuary of virtue; and it is practiſed in the adminiſtration of public affairs, from whence it ſhould be moſt ſtrictly excluded.

Having heard mighty things of the eminent politicians in the ſeveral governments of Europe, I conſulted the annals of their lives, there being very few on whom ſome author has not employed his pen.

In the peruſal of them I found theſe great politicians to be no more than great vil-

villains, infamous wretches, immerſed in guilt: ſome ſacrificing every thing to a paſſion for ſuperiority, and making their way to it through all the horrors of perfidy: ſome, to gratify their ambition, throwing all Europe into a confuſion: ſome gaining their ends by a weapon, others by poiſon. One aſſaſſinates his prince, another brings him to the ſcaffold; another enſlaves a free people, another deſolates flouriſhing countries. The banditti, the malefactors whom we put to an ignominious death, are not more flagitious than the European politicians.

This ſcience, ſo pernicious to mankind, could not fail of taking root among nations, where the vices of the ſtate are held in a kind of veneration: accordingly Europe has produced more politicians than all the reſt of the world put together.

I know nothing more diſgraceful to human nature than its political hiſtory. If any thing can raiſe a contempt for Europeans, it is certainly that ſeries of enormities invented there; the crimes perpetrated, to obtain their end, are not to be read without ſhuddering. The princes, or lay miniſters, would never

never have been ſo abandoned. All the policy, now prevailing in Europe, is ſaid to be derived from the court of Rome. The Popes, who originally ſprung from the very dregs of the people, made uſe of vices, to raiſe themſelves to the throne of virtue. The meaner their birth, the more they ſtood in need of fraud and artifice in their ambitious purſuits. It is certain that the moſt artful villains, who have made a diſtinguiſhed figure in politics, were of this church; the cardinals eſpecially made great progreſs in this ſcience of deceit, ſo that no other politicians in Europe have come up to them.

To diſcover a politician, you need only have an idea of that character: he muſt be artful and reſerved; his ſoul muſt be muffled, and, as it were, concentered in himſelf; all his proceedings muſt be in thickeſt darkneſs; he muſt be maſter of two or three faces, and ſeveral phyſiognomies; he is never to ſpeak as he thinks, nor to mean as he ſpeaks; he muſt be *cruel*, and, on occaſion, fit to ſacrifice all mankind to his ambition; *barbarous*, making light of the blood of millions; *inhuman*, having not the leaſt pity for mankind; *deceitful*,

to

to carry on his artifices; *ſupple*, to conform to the different tempers; muſt be verſed in flattery, to cajole by praiſes; *unjuſt*, turning every thing to his private intereſt; *void of truth*, betraying every one; *lawleſs*, his intereſt being his only law; without *religion*, making tools of all religion for compaſſing his views.

LETTER XXXVII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi *to the ſame.*

Paris.

HAPPY thou! friend *Kié-tou-na*, to live in a country of equity and order, far from the tumults and terrors of war! That, where it is my fate now to be, breathes devaſtation and carnage; the tygers of the foreſt, I believe, are not a whit more fierce and blood-thirſty than the people of this country. It is now full two hundred years, that the Europeans have been inceſſantly fighting and cutting one another's throats; the continent is ſo drained of men, that if they go on, nothing will be left but the engines of war, which have ſwept away the ſpecies.

On my firſt arrival here, I obſerved a great buſtle among the people, and aſking the cauſe, I was told the nation had ſeveral enemies to encounter, and was carrying on two wars of a different nature, one by land and another by ſea; but this is the whole of my intelligence; for the people themſelves know nothing farther. The French, though ſo alertly ſacrificing fortune and life for the ſtate, are not let into the cauſe of war. At the King's command they take up arms, and march to the enemy, where they get themſelves knocked on the head; they are replaced by others, who alſo fall, and after them comes a ſecond recruit, and theſe meet with the like fate; no one aſks their commander the reaſon of all this carnage. This is called being good Frenchmen, hearty ſubjects. Every King of France, at his death, has a ſuit of ten or twelve millions of theſe faithful ſubjects ſlain on his account.

How indeed ſhould the ſubjects be acquainted with the danger of theſe wars, it being what the princes themſelves don't know? That generally depends on a certain diſpoſition of the animal ſpirits. If among all the ſovereigns one happens

pens to be ambitious, and poſſeſſed with a ſtrong deſire of ſuperiority, that is enough for a general war. There is at preſent in this part of the world a man of the name of Frederic, who has thrown all Europe into a flame, and is daily cauſing moſt dreadful effuſions of blood; becauſe this ſame Frederic is of an aduſt complexion; hence it is, that all the nations in Europe are now at war with one another.

LETTER XXXVIII.

The Mandarin Kié-tou-na *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at Paris.*

Pekin.

THE knowledge of government in Aſia is quite plain and ſimple; one man rules over other men; the prince's will is the ſupreme law: he orders and is obeyed; that is the Aſiatic government.

It is ſaid to be quite another thing in Europe, every political conſtitution being there combined. The legiſlators have to every power given, as it were, a ballaſt; a ballaſt to ſerve as an equipoiſe to another. It is no longer humour

but reaſon which ſways men. We have heard ſo much ſaid of the advantages of this political combination, that I ſometimes feel a kind of regret, that I was not born under an European ſky; for I profeſs to thee, that, in my opinion, no happineſs is like that of being under the rule of reaſon.

I expect from thy friendſhip an exact account of that moſt valuable European ſcience of governing man, without treſpaſſing on their freedom.

LETTER XXXIX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the ſame, at* Pekin.

Paris.

THE King of France is the moſt powerful prince in Europe. He has immenſe riches, without being maſter of one gold or ſilver mine, and his treaſures are the more inexhauſtible, the fecundity of them deriving from the ſubjects imagination. This monarch is himſelf the projector of his revenues, and the primary creator of his opulence. When his wars prove too long, and money is wanting for the ſubſiſtence of the troops,

troops, he ſupports them with bits of paper, and, in the want of paper, pays them with oak leaves *. A prince who can thus make trees ſubſervient to his ambition, cannot fail of being great.

His people muſt think as he would have them; if he owes them a thouſand millions, he proves to them demonſtratively, that he does not owe them a penny, and pays them accordingly.

Another ſpring of his power is the blind ſubmiſſion of his ſubjects. The machine of ſubordination he winds up as he pleaſes; a few turns more come up to his ends.

When he meditates a war, he ſays to his generals, get together two hundred thouſand men, and do your beſt to fight the enemy in ſuch a plain, which he names to them: immediately the army takes the field. And you, my ſubjects, I want your ſubſtance, ſend all your money to my treaſury, I charge you, not ſo much as to reſerve any which may be neceſſary for you to live on: and his coffers are at once filled. His ſubjects give up all, to the laſt farthing, not ſo

* Paper of no value.

much as leaving to themſelves a ſufficiency to live.

There is no great depth of thought, thou ſeeſt, in this power; two or three orders do conſtitute the whole. The meaneſt of this monarchy, with a great deal of ambition, and very little humanity, might become a great King; yet this effort of genius, ſuch as it is, is ſaid not to come from him. Being aſſiſted by his miniſters, in forming this greatneſs, they combine the ſeveral means, form the ſchemes, and take on themſelves the execution of them.

The grains of ſand in the vaſt ocean will be more eaſily numbered than the ordinances iſſued here within a century. Thou readily conceiveſt that they croſs each other, and are in themſelves contradictory: for were they conſequential, there would be an uniform ſyſtem in this government; whereas inſtead of any ſuch thing, there are a hundred thouſand contradictions. A firſt ordinance is moſt always contradicted by a ſecond, and this annulled by a third.

From this continual reverſal of the Royal will reſults a paradoxical contraſt in this government; but which I cannot explain

explain to thee, as not at all of a piece with the other manners of the nation. In France it is a ſettled point of honour for a liar to be looked upon as a ſcandalous deceiver, not to be admitted in a creditable company: now I cannot conceive, why the King, who is continually lying in his decrees, ſhould be thought great.

LETTER XL.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Hiſtoriographer, *at* Pekin.

Sequel of the great European epochas.

Paris.

CHARLES the Great, in raiſing Europe from the ſtate of inaction, in which he found it, imparted to it an ambition before unknown: a general emulation ſpread itſelf through the ſeveral nations, and ſome even ſurpaſſed themſelves.

The Saxons were beforehand with this firſt emulation; they, as it were, came from behind the ſcene, and had already made their appearance on the theatre of Europe, where they were acting the capital

part. This people had conquered or rather invaded dominions, and were become powerful without any power. The Saxons had no claim over the people whom they were ſubduing, like thoſe who had ſubdued others before them.

Their rapine, their impetuoſity, their ardour, their courage, had opened to them a way to grandeur, if that name may be given to the effects of violence and uſurpation.

The Danes had made an effort on themſelves to become powerful, and ſucceeded in their firſt eſſay; their conqueſt gave them a rank in the world, little to be expected from the narrow boundaries of their country.

The Normans made their firſt appearance as invaders; theſe were another ſort of thoſe northern robbers which overſpread Europe like a torrent. Charles the Great, being much dreaded by them, had kept them in awe whilſt he lived; but after his deceaſe they broke out from all parts; they had neither laws, order, nor military diſcipline: plundering was their glory; and the ſtates they could uſurp, their demeſne; inſtead of making progreſſive conqueſts, they ſeized crowns.

Such

Such were the three predominant nations; and this proves that there was no univerſal power which kept Europe together, and that its ſovereignty lay open to the firſt bold robbers who attempted the uſurpation. All other people, beſides the want of courage and ſtrength, had no eſtabliſhed power, being not yet formed into ſtates.

Ruſſia, which poſſeſſed an immenſe extent, was, as it were, buried in the inactivity of its circumference; it was a vaſt body without a ſoul, and as it did not readily embrace Chriſtianity, it was the longer ſeparated from the reſt of Europe.

Poland was ſubject to the Emperors, who did not allow it to have any other king but one of their nomination. Not only the nation, but the very throne itſelf, was under ſlavery. It was extremely weak, by reaſon of the monſtrous tyranny prevailing there. The nobles were allowed to commit any crime; for a few ounces of ſilver they might put their vaſſals to death; and though the nation be now ſomewhat civilized, that barbarous cuſtom ſtill ſubſiſts. So little was it acquainted with the means of acquiring power, that the art of war was unknown

among them. The laws were the will of the great men, who governed arbitrarily, and without being accountable for their violence. Such injuſtice was then, as at preſent, termed a privilege, as if tyranny could be founded on right.

Sweden, as yet, made no noiſe; though, if any power bids fair for greatneſs, it was this. At its inſtitution it had provided itſelf with ſtrength of power, which, under good management, might have made this little people a conſiderable ſtate. The meaneſt ſubject of the monarchy had a right to contribute to the preſervation of it. The peaſants had a ſeat in the ſenate, aſſiſted at the public deliberations, and the care of their intereſt was in their own hands.

The raiſing of taxes, which is the touchſtone of adminiſtration, depended on their conſent. This people were ſure of a ſubſiſtence, as taxing themſelves, and giving to the ſtate only what it could afford. The King was to have no other ambition than was proper; for the people, by reſerving to themſelves the means of gratifying it, ſtinted him to no more of that paſſion than was neceſſary. They ſeemed to have retained ſome idea of the

Roman

Roman plan of liberty, and to have been leſs enſlaved than any European people. One of its Sovereigns attempting to appropriate to himſelf a part of their wealth, they immediately roſe, and made war on him.

Hungary was next to nothing; it had indeed the right of making its own Kings; but if free in that reſpect, it was a ſlave under domeſtic tyranny. Here alſo the nobles had the execrable priviledge of killing their vaſſals. There was no fundamental law againſt this inhumane cuſtom; which ſhews, that after all the mighty revolutions of Europe, civilized nations ſtill, in ſome reſpect, continued barbarians.

Pruſſia, and ſeveral other northern ſtates, were ſo ſmall as not to be perceived.

The houſe of Auſtria was in its cradle, and thoſe of ſeveral Germanic Sovereigns were juſt born; ſome even were not ſo much as created at that time.

Italy, ſince the declenſion of the Romans, was become much impaired: its grandeur had diſappeared, with that of its inhabitants; repeated incurſions of foreign nations had ſucceſſively overwhelmed it.

There are parts of the continent, remarkable for revolutions of a particular kind. A vagrant, called Romulus, was the founder of Rome. Swarms of robbers deſtroyed it; and a robber, named Alboin, ſet it, in ſome meaſure, on its legs again. He was the head of a nation, known by the name of Lombards, who had ſeated themſelves in that country. Alboin took right meaſures; he laid no reſtraint on the people's belief; everyone was left either to hold Chriſt to be an impoſtor, or to believe in him: a conduct which would have ſaved Europe infinite calamities and diſtractions, had ſucceeding monarchs taken it for their model. The Lombards did not ſeize on all Italy; the Emperors ſtill continued Sovereigns there; but as they made frequent and long journies, they appointed a deputy who executed their orders, and forwarded their diſpatches throughout all the Weſtern empire. There was one thing in theſe people, which continued to ſupport them a little, even when moſt weakened; which is, that under the deſpotiſm of the moſt arbitrary government they ſtill retained the republican ſentiments of the old Romans.

Italy,

Italy, at the time of the new creation of Europe, was not ſo ſavage as other nations: whilſt the other ſtates of the world were totally blind and ignorant, at Rome reading and writing were common. By her the utter extinction of ſcience was prevented; ſhe kept alive that ſacred fire; to her Europe owes its preſent literature.

France was now formed: and though at that time it had not joined to its primitive domain ſeveral provinces, which have ſince made it a vaſt monarchy, it was already conſiderable; its Sovereigns only were inconſiderable. A long ſeries of ſlothful Kings for a long time weakened this monarchy, and hindered it from diſtinguiſhing itſelf in Europe. Its monarchs had only a ſhadow of ſovereignty; they can ſcarce be ſaid to have ſat on the throne. Each of theſe provinces had its King, with the title of Count; and their crown was hereditary, and totally independent of the ſtate. The ſceptre was in ſome meaſure only repreſentative; it was an emblem of ſovereignty. Theſe petty princes made wars on each other and ruined the country, whilſt the King only looked on. He could

could indeed raiſe wars and haraſs the monarchy like others, and his vaſſals were obliged to ſupply him with means: this on one hand produced a ſuſpenſion of arms, and an open war on the other; the people in the mean time being without any certain ſubſiſtence, by reaſon of the ravages.

This monarchy would have ſunk, if from its very weakneſs it had not acquired a ſtrength to ſupport it. The country was inceſſantly at war, ſo that the people were born warriors; and this it was which prevented its overthrow.

England had only a name, being ſo weak, ſo ſpiritleſs, ſo void of courage, that it fell ſucceſſively under the power of any who would ſubdue it. It had paſſed under the yoke of ſeveral nations, without ſcarce being aware of it; ſo much was it habituated to ſervitude. The Romans, the Saxons, Charles the Great, the Normans and Danes, conquered it, or rather had landed there; for any robbers, who were for making themſelves maſters of it, needed only to ſhew themſelves. Money was given them to quit the country again; which was the very way to be frequently viſited.

The

The Engliſh ſuffered theſe diſgraces and oppreſſions with a puſillanimity, which proves that the courage and vigour of men depends more on the political conſtitution of ſtates than on the climate. This is ſtill the ſame, it is only its government which has been changed.

Spain was ſo weak as to be conquered by colonies from Africa, who left its inhabitants no other freedom than to ſhelter themſelves among the rocks. Europèan writers are very vague in accounting for this debility; but I am inclined to think the true reaſon to be, that the Spaniards, whoſe imagination is naturally very ſtrong and lively, were more ſuperſtitious than the other Europeans, when, like them, they had admitted a religion full of obſervances and ceremonies, and this it was which relaxed their vigour and courage. However, a chief ſtept forth, as it were from under ground, and by his example animated them to be brave; being able to make himſelf a Sovereign, he would no longer be a ſubject, and flatly refuſed paying to the conquerors the uſual tribute. It is with him that the European annals begin the liſt of Chriſtian

Chriſtian Kings; but, in reading theſe annals, things are to be minded more than the words.

The Emperors, though they had inherited the power of the whole univerſe, were the pooreſt Princes in the world; they poſſeſſed few or no territories as their property; the only wealth remaining to them on earth was their name. The north of Europe, which had deſtroyed all the nations of the ſouth, ſtill continued ſavage. Fatigued with extenſive invaſions, conqueſts and ravages, it ſeemed to want reſt.

Switzerland began to ſtir.

The republic of Venice was now formed; the trade and variances in Europe, together with the religious diſturbances, had given it a power, but not in the leaſt formidable.

Genoa had riſen to ſome ſmall degree of grandeur, and all the other petty ſtates had followed the general movement, emerging from the abaſement in which the Greeks and Romans, and afterwards the Barbarians, had kept them.

But all theſe riſing ſtates had laboured under perpetual agitations. I find that, till the birth of Chriſt, the Pagan ſects had

had never cauſed wars or diſturbances; they had never made their faith an object of diſcord; but the Chriſtians were always fighting about what they were to believe: this church has above a hundred different manners of worſhipping God; it diſfigures every thing even to the divine exiſtence, by its continual diſputes and cavils.

In the firſt quarrels concerning the Chriſtian tenets, the main queſtion was, whether the Deity was really eaten and drank; that is, whether the Supreme Being was digeſted and became an excrement? There is no ſuch thing as having that veneration for religion which is neceſſary to it, when thus debaſed by contemptible terms.

LETTER XLI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kié-tou-na.

Paris.

THE ſcience of the revolutions of Europe is here the particular province of a claſs of doctors, called politicians; they teach their diſciples for money,

ney, every thing being ſet to ſale in Europe, even the very intereſts of Princes.

On my arrival at Paris I hired a doctor of this ſort, to inform me of the cauſe of thoſe ſieges and battles, which at preſent render this part of the world ſuch a ſcene of bloodſhed and devaſtation. This profound ſcholar, the next day, ſent to my houſe two or three hundred volumes, in which, ſaid he, were contained the ſubjects of the preſent war. I aſked him, whether he had not a ſhorter method, as probably I ſhould be at Pekin before I could read over my firſt leſſon. On this he engaged to initiate me into the myſtery of politics a more compendious way, and, for brevity's ſake, he went no farther back than the creation of the world.

God, ſaid he, formed man and woman, who immediately fell to quarrelling; there is the origin and type of the wars of nations.

After a long ſucceſſion of ages, in which different nations had often ravaged the earth, the Egyptians came to be known, and after them the Greeks. Cloſe on theſe followed the Romans, who in rapine went beyond all their predeceſſors; they ſubdued all nations; but being

being cruſhed under the weight of their own greatneſs, all the ſovereigns who roſe from the ruins of their power, made war on each other, to decide who ſhould be the chief uſurper.

Whilſt they were contending for the Roman ſpoils, another competitor called Charles the Great made his appearance, and conquered them all. After him, other adventurers ſtepped forth, with the like ambitious procedures againſt each other. Acts of lawleſs hoſtility, violence, and confuſion, ſtill continued. Uſurpations were eſtabliſhed as rights, and the great ones were continually fighting for the juſt poſſeſſion of what could not in reality be otherwiſe than unjuſt.

At length, in the middle of the laſt century, the world ſaw a Chriſtian Prince, to whom ſome give the title of *Great*, and others that of mean (carefully mind this, for it is the key of our modern politics) who outdid this univerſal uſurpation. He invaded provinces, laid waſte countries with fire and ſword, and beſtowed vaſt kingdoms on his family. For ſixty years ſucceſſively he was taken

up

up with ſieges and battles, and ſo effectually ſowed the ſeeds of diſcord, that, ever ſince, Europe has always been negociating or fighting. There, ſaid he, you have the cauſe of the preſent German war.

What you have been ſaying, ſaid I to the profeſſor, appears very clear to me; yet I muſt own, that I am never the wiſer for it. Could you not let me into the preſent quarrels of the Chriſtian Princes in a more laconic manner? Yes, yes, that I can, anſwered he; and, as a proof of it, I will deduce the original only from two or three thouſand years backward. Immediately he went on thus.

Romulus having built the city of Rome, erected a ſenate. Cæſar aboliſhed it, and took the whole authority of the republic into his own hands. The other Cæſars, who came after him, continued to themſelves the power he had uſurped, and founded an empire. This empire fell to pieces, and in modern times has paſſed in ſcraps and parcels to an Europeon family, that you know nothing of; for you Chineſe have no notion of any chronology, but thoſe of remote

remote antiquity, whereas this houſe is but of modern date.

Charles the Sixth, the laſt deſcendent of this family, on the male ſide, had a very fine province, of which a neighbouring prince diſpoſſeſſed his heireſs: he apprehending that there was a deſign on foot to imitate his example, took up arms, in time of profound peace, and, by way of precaution, fell on a neighbouring monarch, and ruined his dominions, that he might not be able to join in doing him an ill turn.

Here I ſaid to the politician, this invaſion, I well conceive, muſt have brought on a war between thoſe two powers; but that is not what I mean, I want to know the origin of the French war. Why that is the very thing I am explaining to you. Oh! now I take you: France, to be ſure, was for availing itſelf of the conteſt of thoſe two houſes, and ſeizing on this fine province for itſelf? No, that is not the thing: to which ſide ſoever the ſcale tnrned, France would not have got an inch of land in Germany. Wherefore then did ſhe take up arms? Why, ſhe took up arms to make a diverſion. A diverſion, replied

replied I, what do you call a diverſion? It is raiſing a large army, keeping it on foot, at one's own expence, ruining one's finances, fighting for others, and draining one's own country of men. The diſadvantages being ſo great, what is then to be got in balance? Nothing, returned he: the power which makes a diverſion, can expect only detriment; but the policy of the European cabinets will have it ſo.

Is the war, ſaid I, which France is carrying on againſt England, a diverſion? No, the ground of this war is ſomething ſubſtantial, and you will not think it ſtrange that ſo much blood has been ſhed on both ſides, ſo very briſkly, in a cauſe of ſuch great importance; it aroſe from nothing leſs than ſome acres of land in America, inhabited by tygers, and defended by the French and Engliſh againſt each other like lions.

At the very firſt leſſon I diſmiſſed my maſter, as I think there is but little need of one, in a ſcience ſo very perſpicuous and convincing as European politics.

LETTER

LETTER XLII.

The Mandarin Kié-tou-na, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi.

Pekin.

THY letter on policy has ſet our ſublime Emperor ſo much againſt it, that he immediately gave orders for publiſhing the following ordinance.

" Ordinance of the great Emperor of " China.

" Our predeceſſors having contracted " a prepoſſeſſion in favour of European " knowledge, allowed Chriſtian mathe- " maticians to ſettle in our empire; but " we, on full information, by our Man- " darin Cham-pi-pi, that the European " courts are at preſent infected with an " abominable ſcience called politics, " which our Mandarin defines *the art of* " *deceiving infallibly, reduced into practice* " *by princes*: We ordain as follows.

" Conſidering that the European ma- " thematicians may have infected ſeve- " ral of our ſubjects with pernicious ma- " xims, it is our order,

" That

" That no miniſter of ours in the ad-
" miniſtration of public or private affairs
" make uſe of fetches, or duplicity.

" That cunning and fineſſes be ex-
" cluded from all negotiations. If af-
" ter the publication of the preſent any
" of our ſubjects ſhall unhappily have
" adopted the maxims of that deteſtable
" European ſcience, called politics, they
" ſhall make declaration of it to a
" Mandarin, whom we have nominated
" for that purpoſe, and who is imme-
" diately to report the matter to us.

" In caſe thoſe ſubjects ſhall have ac-
" ted according to thoſe pernicious
" maxims they had adopted, they are to
" make public abjuration of ſuch prin-
" ciples.

" Every ſubject in office, who ſhall
" have made uſe of fetches and artifices
" to ſucceed in any commiſſion, where-
" with we may have entruſted him, ſo
" far from being looked on as a perſon
" of abilities, ſhall be deemed no more
" than a knave, or ſordid man, without
" genius, or capacity.

" And that ſtate affairs may retain
" the candour and uprightneſs ſo ne-
" ceſſary

" ceſſary to them; we expreſsly declare
" that they, whom we have inveſted with
" any branch of our power, and happen
" to be convicted of having tranſgreſſed
" the maxims of religion, honour, and
" probity, ſhall immediately forfeit their
" employments, and loſe their good
" name.

" Of two miniſters negotiating toge-
" ther, ſhould one prove the other to
" have impoſed on him, by falſe exter-
" nals and deceitful appearances, and
" that he meant the very reverſe of what
" he had ſaid, he ſhall immediately be
" diſmiſſed from his employment.

" Every book bearing the title of *poli-
" tical maxims*, ſhall be infamouſly burnt
" without any further examination.

" We likewiſe forbid all our ſubjects
" to read any ſuch writings, under pe-
" nalty of what puniſhment we ſhall
" think fit.

" Such is our juſt indignation againſt
" this deteſtable ſcience, that we hereby
" enact, that henceforth every politician
" ſhall ſuffer death.

" And to avoid all doubt, evaſion,
" and miſtake, which may ariſe from
" the import of that word in Europe,

" we ordain, that, for the future, all ne-
" gotiations ſhall be underſtood literal-
" ly; that is, when a public miniſter
" having ſaid, in a capital affair, *that*
" *ſhall be ſo*, there ſhall be no reſerva-
" tion by which *that may be otherwiſe.*

" We declare, that if, after the publi-
" cation of this preſent, any profeſſor in
" politics be detected, teaching it to our
" ſubjects, he ſhall, on conviction, be
" condemned to the ſevereſt Chineſe
" puniſhment; that is, he ſhall be cut
" in ten thouſand pieces, &c."

LETTER XLIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to* Kié-tou-na, *Maſter of the Ceremonies, at* Pekin.

Paris.

EVERY thing is ſold at Paris, compliments excepted, and theſe are given away profuſely: they have a form of ſilly affected words, which every one has by heart, and diſtributes them to every comer, without diſtinction of age or ſex. This complaiſance is not without its origin: the great derived it from the court, theſe transferred it to the nobility, and

and the latter graciouſly diffuſed it among the people.

It is a conſequence of abſolute monarchy, and is to be conſidered as a homage which deſpotiſm pays to liberty.

The French not being wicked enough to be corrupted by crimes and treachery, the inſtruments of ſeduction here are, ſubmiſſive poſtures and ſoothing words: be the government what it will, the conſtitutional vices muſt have their courſe.

The coldneſs of the French in this reſpect borders on phlegm. I know nothing more inſupportable to a ſincere and frank foreigner, than to live among people, openly profeſſing an affected politeneſs, and ever on the ceremonial ſtrain, which is no other thing than a perpetual lie. In this reſpect I would prefer a downright clowniſhneſs.

At my firſt coming I thought I ſhould have died amidſt the crowd of compliments, which I have been obliged to go through. They who are not acquainted with the mode, unhappily take theſe cringes and grimaces for ſomething, whereas they mean nothing at all.

LETTER XLIV.

The Same, to the Mandarin Cotao-yu-le, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

IT is now a whole week, that I have been confined at home, by a dreadful headach. I got it at a public diverſion here called an opera. It is a concert of inſtruments and voices, in which mens ſufferings are ſung; the Europeans being ſo gay, that even in the moſt melancholy things they will introduce ſome merriment.

To give a juſt idea of the French opera is ſcarce poſſible; imagine eighty demons here honoured with the name of muſicians, and theſe generally ſinging all at once, and accompanied by as many violins, flutes, hautboys, baſſoons, drums, trumpets, clarions, kettle-drums, and other inſtruments whoſe names I know not. This diverſion is in the houſe of a Prince of the blood-royal, who, I ſuppoſe, is very poor, as every body gives him ſomething at going in.

The opera-temple is dedicated to an antient deity called Orpheus, who probably

bly was ſome very fine ſinger, but his voice has been impaired by length of time, at leaſt the ſinging of his preſent votaries is little better than howling. The myſteries of this deity are however in greater veneration among the French, than thoſe of their Chriſt; for moſt of the pagods in Paris are empty, whereas the opera is always crowded,

This ſpectacle (that is the name given to it) is of ſo weak a conſtitution, that the leaſt thing might go very near to deſtroy it.

Since it has been in the world, it has never yet ſeen the ſun; day-light is ſaid to be ſo pernicious to it, that a ſingle ray of it would be enough to overthrow its incantation.

The hall, which is none of the moſt ample, has ſeveral rounds of galleries; there is not an empty ſpace throughout the whole; there are niches for the opera devotees up to the very roof. The point of proſpect from all the galleries, and other places, is a boarded floor, of the breadth of the hall towards the furtheſt part of it, and raiſed about five foot from the ground; that they call the ſtage.

This diverſion, to excite any great ſenſation, muſt make one ſick: the perfection of a French opera is to ſend away the audience ſtunned. The higheſt effect of this entertainment always declares itſelf by a ſevere head-ach.

The actor and actreſſes, as they are called, are eſteemed according to the ſhrillneſs of their cries. There is at preſent, belonging to this ſpectacle, a female ſlave, whoſe voice alone drowns ſix drums and ten trumpets.

At the opera they not only ſing with the voice, but even with the arms, hands and body; the actor and actreſs, who makes the greateſt ſtir on the ſtage, ſo as to ſeem to be in convulſions, is accounted a perſon of ſuperior power. This agitation, when extreme, ſupplies any deficiency of quavers in ſinging.

The preſent favourite of the public is a young female ſlave, who has no voice, but ſings prodigiouſly with her eyes and head.

That evening the ſpectacle began with a grand chorus; and this it was which brought on the indiſpoſition under which I now labour. A grand chorus is,

is, when eighty muſicians, male and female, ſet up their cries all at once. Unhappily for me, this chorus happened to be a maſterpiece of French muſic, a finiſhed performance. This caterwawling was ſucceeded by a leſs noiſe; a young female ſlave appeared on the ſtage, in a very odd dreſs, and amidſt a thouſand thrills acquainted us with her being violently in love, and the exceſſive grief of her heart ariſing from that paſſion. Unqueſtionably ſhe imagined that we could relieve her, for looking attentively at us, and, in all appearance, addreſſing herſelf to us, ſhe ſang theſe words. *Pluck from my heart the ſhaft which rends it*, &c.

Whilſt this ſlave was chanting out her diſtreſſes, I was very much perplexed to know what part a man acted, who ſtood fronting the theatre with a ſtick in his hand, which he continually raiſed and dropped, and made more noiſe with it, than all the ſingers together, beſides throwing his body into ten thouſand different poſtures. This man, ſaid one of the ſpectators who ſat next to me, is the ſoul of the performance: the whole opera lies in his ſtick. All yon actors

and actreſſes, without him, would not have a word to ſay: it is his action which gives them life.

Indeed I obſerved, that, in their moſt violent agitations, they ſtill kept their eye on the little ſtick; ſo that any accident happening to him who had the management of it, the ſinger would of a ſudden, perhaps in the midſt of ſome air, in which he prided himſelf, be as it were ſtruck dumb, and ſtand gaping, as if petrified. Both muſician and muſic conform to its motions; it is the truncheon of the opera.

The ſubject of this ſight is generally a loving hero and heroine, who after expreſſing their torments, die with grief and deſpair; and the whole is accompanied with a thorough baſe.

LETTER XLV.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham pi-pi, *at* Paris.

Lyon.

THE ladies of Lyons are ſo much among ſilk, that they ſmell of taffety a league off. They are fond of imitating

tating the carriage, air, ways, and manners of the ladies at Paris; but after all, they are but very indifferent copies of thoſe elegant originals. A female of Lyons, who has made a tour to Paris, is the moſt impertinent creature under the cope of heaven.

I lately paid a viſit to a lady juſt arrived from the capital, and who on that account can no longer ſee her equal in her own city; after the firſt compliment ſhe aſked me how I liked Lyons? A very pleaſant and beautiful city indeed, Madam. "You have not then been at "Paris, anſwered ſhe, haſtily? Pardon "me, Madam, I am, as it were, but "juſt come from thence. How! ſaid "ſhe, quite ſurpriſed, you have been "at Paris, and like Lyons! and without "giving me time to reply, proceeded "to a ſecond queſtion; have you been "at our playhouſe here? No, Madam, "ſaid I; ſo much the better, replied ſhe, "for it is execrable, there is no bearing "it; it is quite horrible. Beſides their "acting only the moſt paultry plays, the "actors have a country accent which "vaſtly hurts the ear. Yet, Madam, "ſaid I, I have heard that moſt of the

" come from Paris? Very true, Sir, ad-
" ded ſhe, they do; but the Pariſians
" don't talk ſo good French at Lyons as
" at Paris.

" What do you think of our walks?
" They are quite delightful. Ah, Sir,
" replied ſhe with a profound ſigh; what
" are theſe to the Elyſian fields, the
" Thuilleries, and the Palais-Royal?
" There, at leaſt, we breathe a noble
" air, for there we walk with noblemen
" and women of the firſt quality;
" whereas in our walks we are ſtifled
" with crowds of aukward country folks,
" whoſe very breath obſtructs the freedom
" of the air. I don't believe, continued
" ſhe, that there is in the world a more
" delicious place than the Boulevards;
" it affords all kinds of ſights, from the
" the graveſt down to the puppet-ſhow.
" To be ſure, you have often been
" at the Palais-Royal theatre? Did you
" ever ſee any thing more ſuperb than the
" opera? Every thing there is wonder-
" fully brilliant: the very boys have a
" majeſtic air. It muſt be allowed that
" the Pariſian opera can at preſent boaſt
" of ſuperior performers, both in ſinging
" and dancing. The ſweetneſs of Made-
" moiſelle

" moiſelle Chevalier's voice tranſports
" me. Mademoiſelle d'Avos charms me
" with the pathetic tenderneſs of her
" manner. Poirier's voice affects me,
" that of Lambert quite melts me. Ma-
" demoiſelle Carville's light, frolic, and
" animated motions amaze me. She is
" none of your lank ſlim dancers, who
" are loſt on a ſtage. I compare her to
" the antient monuments; one would
" think a pyramid of Egypt was dan-
" cing. La Lionnois is light and airy, but
" ſhe outdoes herſelf in the tender and pa-
" thetic. I love to ſee l'Anis the maſter
" of the interludes dance, but not to
" compoſe. Nothing can exceed his
" dancing, whereas he is very deficient
" in compoſing.

" The fairs of St. Germain and St. Lau-
" rence are alſo very reſpectable ſights;
" the theatres there, beſides decency,
" have a very good taſte and manner. At
" firſt their actors and actreſſes would not
" be thought to have the requiſite talent
" and powers; but on examining them
" cloſely they are found better than they
" appear.

" The French comedy is one of
" the chief ſpectacles in the univerſe.

" Good

" Good God, what actors! Dubois is ineſ-
" timable, la Torriliere has not her equal!
" Bellecour is my delight, he does hon-
" our to the ſtage! Gauſſin ſtrikes me
" in the terrible; in the tender Clairon
" commands my tears; and I never ſee
" Kain in the affectionate without ſym-
" pathy.

" The Italian theatre is alſo what I
" am greatly diverted with. I ſuppoſe
" you know Carlin? No, Madam, that
" honour does not belong to me. Car-
" lin's acquaintance, replied ſhe, is not a
" matter of any great honour, but he is
" exceſſively entertaining; he acts the
" harlequin. Never was a finer form;
" then his accent is admirably adapted
" to the theatre; he ſpeaks French as
" if he was born at Paris. Rochart
" ſings like an angel; what vocal pow-
" ers! how ſonorous! then the grace-
" fulneſs of his perſon, and, eſpecially,
" the fine ſet of teeth he diſplays, when
" ſpinning a note!

" As to wits, that city ſwarms with
" them; it is the centre of literati: out
" of Paris, genius is very ſcarce. For
" my part, there was not a perſon of
" diſtinguiſhed eminence for literature

" whom

" whom I did not aſſociate with: I vi-
" ſited *Freron*, *Marmontel*, *l'Abbe de la*
" *Porte*, and *Lattaignan*, and they me;
" all thoſe great men, to be ſure, you
" know? Not one of them, Madam:
" I am only vexed, continued ſhe, that
" they are ever threatening to cudgel
" one another: wits, I think, ſhould
" wear ſwords.

" But what endears Paris to a pretty
" woman, is the company of fine gentle-
" men. The country, really, affords
" none like them. I have often been
" with the Marquis de Ville P——: what
" a bewitching creature he is! nay, he
" muſt be ſo, for he has been in keep-
" ing among the ladies in Paris above
" theſe twenty years. I have alſo ſupped
" ſeveral times with handſome Tor—,
" what a martial air he has! ſuch
" a maſculine beauty! I cannot con-
" ceive why they ſay he is like a girl
" dreſſed in mens cloaths.

" The acquaintance of women is alſo
" extremely agreeable: Paris, for our
" ſex, is the country of divine com-
" pany; indeed, what I viſited was
" only the choiceſt. Twice a week I

" uſed

" uſed to be at the Counteſs of Monos " —— the Marchioneſs of Marchen.—It " is pity that there ſhould be ſuch cheat- " ing at play in thoſe houſes, otherwiſe " one could not deſire to be better di- " verted."

Here ſhe called her chamber-maid, to know whether Pariſien was come; then turning towards me, "He is my dreſſer, " ſaid ſhe, a Paris young man; and it is " my fixed reſolution, for the future, to " take no ſervant who does not bring a " certificate from the regiſter of his pa- " riſh, that he was born in that capital.

" My chamber-maid, whom you juſt " now ſaw, was born in the pariſh of " St. Germain l'Auxerois, and my foot- " boy in St. Honoré's ſtreet: being al- " ſo determined not to have ſo much as " one living creature which did not " come from Paris. I have already " wrote thither for a cat and dog, in- " ſtead of two born here, and which, on " their arrival, I ſhall diſband. I have " alſo ſent for a nightingale, for natu- " raliſts have taken notice, that the Pa- " ris nightingales have a much finer " note than thoſe of the country. So I

" hope,

" hope, in a little time, to have the ſa-
" tisfaction of ſeeing no other animal of
" this town about me than my huſband.
" All my ribbons are of Paris manu-
" facture; my patches, gloves, powder
" and pomatum, alſo come from thence;
" my combs alſo; for you muſt needs
" think, country combs would tear my
" hair off. There are no combs but
" thoſe of Paris, with which one can
" comb horizontally. Every month
" conſtantly I alſo have my tooth-pick-
" ers from thence; and I never uſe a pin
" which does not come from Paris."

LETTER XLVI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Prime Miniſter, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

CHRISTIAN Princes multiply themſelves, in all ſtates, by repreſentatives, ſtiled ambaſſadors. In every court of Europe you are ſure to meet with a King of France; ſometimes there are no leſs than ten republics of Venice, without reckoning extraordinaries.

To

To theſe coadjutants of crowned heads belong very great privileges, of which not one of the leaſt is, to diſturb nations in aſſerting their rank. Many a terrible war has Europe ſeen kindled only by this right of precedency. Should the coaches of two of theſe repreſentative monarchs be hampered in a ſtreet, nothing under a battle can decide which is to paſs firſt: I have even been aſſured, that if the King of Spain, reſiding at a foreign court, was in a houſe of ill fame, and the King of Portugal would be ſerved firſt, there would be a war to decide this preference.

From this ſource it is that ariſe moſt of the diſturbances.

If there was no ambaſſador for modelling the quiet of Europe, it would be more quiet.

The repreſentatives of crowns have alſo another privilege, I mean that of being unjuſt.

Their poſt intitles them to contract immenſe debts; they can get people's ſubſtance into their hands by large loans, and thus ruin the widow and orphan, without being anſwerable to the laws for ſuch villainies; and this prerogative they enjoy

enjoy not only for themſelves, but can extend it to others. Their houſes are full of debtors and murderers, ſecured from proſecutions. A man, after any flagrant tranſgreſſion of the laws, gets himſelf into an ambaſſador's ſervice, and, under ſome title or other, avoids the puniſhment due for his crimes.

Thus thrones, which ſhould be the ſanctuary of innocence and virtue, are a ſhelter to iniquity and violence.

LETTER XLVII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Hiſtoriographer, *at* Pekin.

Sequel of the great European *Epochas.*

Paris.

EUROPE, which in the 11th century, according to the Chriſtian calculation, rather ſtood in need of reſt and tranquillity, to recover itſelf from ſo many depredations, which had been weakening it ever ſince the declenſion of the Romans, became more diſturbed than ever; and it is generally in religion, that

that the origin of its calamities is to be found.

Chriſt, having condeſcended to die like a man, was buried like a mortal. A grave was dug, in which his body was depoſited. This grave cauſed more blood to be ſhed than ever was ſpilt from any political motives: the pretence was, that this cave had been defiled by Infidels, and this produced an unanimous reſolution to revenge ſuch an offence, which, if it was one, did not come within the cognizance of men.

Innumerable armies croſſed the ſeas, and went to fight a people againſt whom, as they had done nothing to the grave, they could have no cauſe of quarrelling. For their ſtandard in this war they took the croſs, though among them it is the ſymbol of peace: under this banner, which naturally ſhould have put them in mind that they were Chriſtians, they did not ſo much as remember that they were men. Deſpair and fury prompted them on: it is obſervable, that in all times Chriſtians have been cruel and ſanguinary; though animated by a motive pregnant with mildneſs and lenity, they have

have committed all ſorts of crimes from a principle of piety.

The armies who, as they ſaid, went to avenge the inſulted Deity, conſiſted of the greateſt villains of the earth, noted for debauchery and licentiouſneſs; ſuch ſoldiers, it might well be expected, would rather diſgrace religion, than do it any honour. Their firſt expditions were againſt their own brethren; they robbed the Chriſtians when on their way to plunder the Turks: theſe holy expeditions were every where marked with rapes, murders, depredations and violences of all kinds.

Chriſt's tomb was made the pretence for the moſt atrocious crimes.

There cannot, I think, be a better proof of the ſpirit of inconſiſtency which has ever prevailed in Europe, than the proceedings of thoſe times. The Mahometans themſelves made war on the Chriſtians, and attacked them in their own country, not for any relics, but to extend their power; and the Chriſtians, inſtead of taking up arms againſt thoſe invaders, ſhewed their zeal in cruſading againſt thoſe who did not attack them.

Europe was on the point of ſlavery; yet ſo far from uniting for its own defence, it ſent its forces over land and ſeas to lay ſiege to a tomb. Three or four very numerous armies ſoon periſhed by hunger, thirſt, and other diſtreſſes, incident to ill-concerted enterprizes.

The Croiſades, into which at firſt only ſome hot-brained adventurers had been drawn, now became the freak of warriors and conquerors; this of courſe weakened Europe, for all Princes joined in theſe expeditions.

Jeruſalem, the occaſion of the war, was taken; and now the Chriſtians ſaw themſelves maſters of the tomb, ſaid to be that of Chriſt. A town which in no wiſe added to the power of Europe, nor improved its religion, coſt it a million of men, and moſt of them in the prime of life.

The wars of the Croiſades were a contrivance of the Popes, as promotive of their elevation; for they could not aggrandiſe themſelves but by diminiſhing the general power. Every thing was to be laid low, to raiſe their prerogative. The chiefs of the Chriſtian church ſhewed

ed on this occaſion, that the concerns of heaven had not been ſo much in their thoughts as thoſe of earth; they ſent a pope or legate to take poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem in their name, as Kings. The commander, under whom it had been conquered, was only Duke of it.

Freſh Croiſades ſet out and periſhed, like the former. Europe was drained ſo as to be almoſt without inhabitants, other wars being neceſſary to preſerve the firſt conqueſts. That wretched city, for which ſo much blood had been ſhed with a brutal fury, again fell into the power of its new maſters; and the loſs of this place, which ſhould have opened the eyes of Chriſtian Princes, ſhut them the cloſer. They ran a madding after the Croiſades more eager than ever.

This holy war, which at firſt had been only by bare invitation, now became a fundamental law. Every nation was taxed, and they who could not join in the croiſade were to pay the tenth part of their income: a moſt iniquitous law, that ſubjects ſhould be ſtripped of their ſubſiſtence, to ſupport a war which was of no manner of concern to the ſtate.

Almoſt every King at that time levied freſh armies, which periſhed like thoſe that had been ſent on the like expeditions; there never was a more convincing proof that examples are of no weight among Europeans.

Of all the generals which headed theſe expeditions, two only made their fortune, and that was by miſcarrying; for inſtead of deſcending into Chriſt's tomb, they aſcended the throne of the eaſtern empire: but their elevation afterwards ſerved only to make their fall more remarkable.

The Chriſtian hiſtorians limit Europe's loſs by the croiſades only to two millions of men, that being the number who actually periſhed; but this is not a way of calculating depopulation. A loſs of two millions of inhabitants, through the bad influence it has on propagation, trades, agriculture, and all the other branches of government, muſt occaſion an immenſe void. Such a depredation on mankind does not admit of a preciſe calculation; it is not yet repaired, and probably never will be. Reſtorative laws ſhould have been made; but Princes who could deſtroy both themſelves and their people

people for a tomb, were ſcarce capable, after having done the miſchief, of laying down a remedy for it.

At preſent, all the ſyſtems ſhould be changed; and this is what not one of the princes in Europe has any thought of.

To the tomb of Chriſt it is owing that Europe has been thinned by one half: thoſe deſolating wars are a ſignal proof how very much great events owe their origin to minute cauſes. One of thoſe vagabonds, having been at Jeruſalem, pretended to have been inſulted by thoſe who kept the tomb, and on his return to Italy made a formal complaint of it: the war was renewed, and Europe again loſt its inhabitants, to revenge the cauſe of an adventurer.

Chriſtendom being exhauſted by the croiſades, ſeveral ſtates availed themſelves of the general debility, to throw off the yoke of the Emperors, who ſtill pretended to be ſucceſſors to the famous Roman empire; and thus the private liberty of Europe increaſed, as the general power became curtailed.

Several ſtates and communities put themſelves under a conſtitution of municipal

nicipal laws; and this form of government ſtill ſubſiſts.

Many cities joined in alliance, and a combination of intereſt; but it was rather to augment their wealth, than inlarge their dominions.

The greater part of the European nations ſought to raiſe their greatneſs on the general ruin; but very weak muſt that power be, which is a ſuperſtructure raiſed on weakneſs itſelf. This part of the world had at that time only two powers, that of the Pope, and that of the Emperors; thoſe two Sovereigns of the European world held the reins, and before their judgment ſeats the diſputes of the other princes were ultimately decided.

It is remarkable that the ſtrength of thoſe two powers was without any viſible exiſtence; the Popes had neither armies nor generals, and the Emperors, as Emperors, at that time as at preſent, were ſcarce maſters of any territory. Yet could theſe two ideal powers have agreed, Europe at length would have ſeen itſelf in a fixed ſtate: but the Popes, impatient of any competitors, were perpetually

petually labouring to retrench the power of the Emperors, and the Emperors left no ſtone unturned in ſapping the power of the popes; and theſe colliſions gave the inferior ſovereigns time to improve their ſtrength, and ſecure themſelves againſt both.

Several ſtates could have turned the diviſions of thoſe two principal powers to a better account, but moſt of them ſeemed to have acted by ſtarts: after one ſtrenuous effort, they again ſunk into a laſſitude, during which things reverted to their former condition.

This weakneſs, however, was productive of one benefit. Such had been the general ſervitude, that not only Kings, but even private lords, had power of life and death over their vaſſals: this tyranny was extinguiſhed, but the exemption from the arbitrarineſs of lords ſoon brought the people into an abſolute ſlavery to princes; ſo that political liberty was no gainer, and civil liberty ſuffered by it.

The tranſactions in Italy, and ſeveral other European continents in the fifteenth century, demonſtrate that this part of the world has no central force; mere

private individuals, of an obſcure extraction, and often without any other title than that of an aſpiring genius, made themſelves maſters of governments, and ſet up for ſovereigns, no potentate, in the mean time, oppoſing their uſurpation: they conſpired, and were ſuffered to go on in their conſpiracies: they ſtuck at no murders for opening themſelves a way to dominion, and this without any check or ſtruggle. All the princes were too weak at home to oppoſe any tranſaction abroad.

The European people were without protectors, and thus expoſed to all the combuſtions which the ſucceſs and ambition of every turbulent citizen might excite. Europe, however, was beginning to improve itſelf; its inhabitants had received a kind of poliſh; trades were invented, and writing ſchools and paper manufactories ſet up; an art which ſoon became of unhappy conſequence to theſe people.

The Europeans, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, did not ſo much as know how to expreſs themſelves; their various idioms were but a jargon, which conveyed their ideas very

very imperfectly. The Italians, who in every thing have ſet the example in this part of the world, were the firſt in poliſhing language; the other nations indeed have followed ſo good a pattern.

LETTER XLVIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the ſame, at* Pekin.

THE King of France, though deſpotic, is not the chief ſovereign of his kingdom. His commander in chief is a man called the Pope; and the monarch is but ſecond in command. There are even caſes in which his ſubjects think it their duty to diſobey him; for inſtance, the King finds in them a ready obedience, when, for any fancy of his, he orders them to go and get themſelves knocked on the head; but ſhould he command them to eat meat on certain days of the week, he would meet with an oppoſition beyond all his power to overcome; the generality, I am perſuaded, would revolt rather than comply.

Antiently this man went farther; on any oppoſition to his will, he uſed ab-

ruptly to dethrone the Kings of France: the reaſon he produced for this was, that all crowns held of him, and that all the ſovereigns of the Chriſtian world were his vaſſals.

Among thoſe ſubjects of the King of France who pay little regard to his authority, there is no ſmall number who *ſcarce acknowledge it*; theſe are the *Bonzes*, or Monks, having their lawful Prince on whom they depend, and to whom, in every thing, they pay an implicit obedience. His will is a ſupreme order, his deciſions are ſentences without appeal; the Great Turk never carried it with a higher hand over his ſlaves.

If he orders them to remove from a town, or even to quit the kingdom or their native country for ever, it is only ſending them his commands: ſuch an order is called *obedience*, and a very proper name for it, for never was order of the moſt abſolute monarch executed with more diſpatch. The Prince, indeed, by interpoſing his power, may put a ſtop to the regulations of the general, for ſo his ſovereign is ſtiled, and detain in the kingdom, by his mandate, thoſe whom the general might order to emigrate.

What

What ſayeſt thou of a power that allows his ſubjects to depend on any other than himſelf, and who muſt uſe violence to give due weight to his authority?

LETTER XLIX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the ſame, at* Pekin.

Lyons.

COMMERCE is carried on here by a kind of ſorcery, the greateſt undertakings are founded on a taliſman, which conſiſts in a ſmall ſlip of paper; two lines are all it contains, and the ſpell lies in one word.

With three deniers value in paper, a Lyons trader goes and purchaſes goods to the amount of three millions. This ideal value furniſhes him with a great number of real things: indeed whilſt the incantation is in its height, and the taliſman is thought in its greateſt ſurety, it falls unaccountably, without any foreſeen reaſon: then three millions become again three deniers. This ſudden change is a ſecond ſorcery; the paper taliſman is no leſs wonderful in its downfal than in its elevation: ſome of this paper hav-

ing made a conſiderable figure in trade, has been known to fall into ſuch diſcredit, as not to procure an ell of ribbon.

The Europeans regulate themſelves by words; all civil affairs among them are tranſacted by the arrangement of ſome ſyllables; a Chriſtian borrowing a ſum of money from another, and for the payment of it engaging his religion and faith, may ſtill chuſe whether he will keep his word, at leaſt he is not compellable by law, and his honour and probity are not reputed any better ſecurities. For inſtance, if a trader, on borrowing a ſum, ſays to the lender, By all that's ſacred in heaven and earth, you ſhall certainly have your money again, he is not thereby bound to payment; but ſhould he write, *I promiſe to pay*, &c. then he is bound to all intents and purpoſes; it is pronouncing an irrevocable ſentence againſt himſelf. This is here called *conſervation*, I don't know whether it were not better named *deſtruction*; at leaſt the writing of thoſe words has been the utter ruin of many families, and others have been reduced to beggary. The words *I promiſe to pay*, are of a power not to be eluded, and comprehending all ranks of men: it were eaſier

to

to get clear of a libel againſt the ſtate. So jealous are the Lyoners of their *conſervation*, that in maintainance of it they would arreſt the King himſelf; nay, I really believe, that ſhould the eternal Lord of heaven and earth draw a bill on Lyons, and omit ſending the neceſſary ſum, they would take out an attachment againſt him. They plead, that commercial affairs being momentary, engagements of this kind ſhould be paid preciſely at the time: yet a priſon not only affords no payment, but does not ſo much as forward any good end; beſides the liberty of the people is more valuable, and more intitled to the indulgence of the government, than the conveniency of trade.

There are four times in the year when this people is frantic, being poſſeſſed by a demon called payment. Theſe ſeaſons of confuſion, from the name of their fairs, might be called *the torments of the ſaints, the rage of Kings, the Eaſter frenzy, and the Auguſt deliriums.*

LETTER L.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the ſame, at* Pekin.

Paris.

A Few days ago I went to ſee the hotel of the invalids; it is a ſuperb tomb for burying thoſe military perſons, whom the cannon has not quite killed.

The carcaſes depoſited there are for the moſt part not entire, ſome without an arm, others want a leg, for without being mutilated there is no admiſſion to the honour of being buried here. However, I ſaw a great number of theſe corpſes full of health at leaſt; they ate and drank like men quite alive; theſe are officers, who wanting five or ſix campaigns of having finiſhed the courſe of their glory, come to conclude it in the plentiful refectory of this manſion.

This inſtitution is not without its regulations; the legiſlature has thought it deſerving its attention, and of this military receſs made a convent of Bonzes. Theſe invalid monks, like other monaſteries, have four great employments ſpecified in the rules of the foundation, 1.

to

to be idle, 2. to ſmoke their pipes, 3. to ſay their prayers, 4. to eat and drink. In this manner they paſs from this tomb to another, which is in the ſame building, and where they are interred a ſecond time.

The plan is fine, it is a pity that it is but begun. France being continually at war, has always ſix times more wounded ſoldiers than this building can contain; it is only to a ſmall number of elect that it is given to enter into this paradiſe, all others ſtay without the door.

The greateſt foundations of the Kings of France are very ſmall; that of the invalids was not meaſured by the wants of the ſtate; this article of royal expence relates only to matters of leſs moment, the main concern was overlooked. The oſtentatious Prince ever takes the lead of the patriot King; many millions of livres have been ſquandered away on the edifice, whereas they ought to have been laid out for the ſupport of a greater number of maimed ſubjects. Almoſt all the monuments of Europe bear the marks of oſtentation and parade.

LETTER LI.

Sequel of the great epochas of Europe, to the ſame, at Pekin.

Paris.

EUROPE, which, in the time of the Romans, had but one maſter, became divided into petty monarchies without number. The ſovereignties *, independent of each other, exceeded a hundred, and theſe were ſo many conſtitutions continually claſhing together, and whoſe particular bickerings led to general wars. The firſt maſters of the world reigned over innumerable millions of ſubjects, thoſe of Europe ruled over as few hundreds. Some of the princes could have put their dominions in their palaces; and there were ſtates, the whole collected body of which made only thirty perſons, the monarch himſelf included.

This general diviſion proved an endleſs multiplication of troubles, becauſe, among kings, quarrels always turn on ſharing the univerſal power.

* Including the eccleſiaſtical principalities, and the ſovereign abbies of Germany.

Where

Where there is but one monarch on a continent, there will be no war; if it comes to be divided into two ſovereignties, there will be but one war; if into a hundred, this will produce as many wars as there are ſovereignties.

The Chriſtian hiſtorians ſeem to be at a loſs about the cauſe of theſe wars, which have been continually deſolating Europe, ever ſince the ſubverſion of the Roman empire. The cauſe is its diviſion.

All the battles, ſince Charles the Great, have been fought about limits: every ſovereign was for extending his dominions beyond his juſt boundaries. The power which fought moſt became the greateſt; the number of poſſeſſions may be calculated from that of battles: there was no quiet any where, till they had enlarged their frontiers. The whole policy of courts then lay in proving that they had claims on the neighbouring ſtates, and the want of right was made up by armies.

He who did not fight to extend his dominion, was obliged to fight to hinder a diminution of it. Every ſovereignty kept troops on foot, either to attack or

defend: the Romans had fought for the poſſeſſion of the univerſe; the battles among the Europeans were about ſome acres.

There was now no end of the wars among ſovereigns, becauſe after conquering twenty enemies, there were ſtill fourſcore more to fight. The fire of ſieges and battles blazed again from its own aſhes; the conflagration continued to rage, being fed by the flame of diviſion, which never ceaſed. After ſubduing one nation, another was to be taken in hand.

The obſtinacy of battles became alſo the greater, from the improvements in the art of war ſpreading geometrically, ſo that a people which had been worſted, learned by its own defeat to recover an advantage over its victor. It was a periodical return from ſtrength to weakneſs, and from weakneſs to ſtrength, and thus there was no end of battling.

The general ſociety of Europe never agreed; its number was too conſiderable for ſo many different intereſts ever to be reconciled, and there was no ſupreme potentate to bring them to an union, the power being in the hands of thoſe who were contending for it.

The

The ſubjection of an hundred millions of men to the humours of an hundred princes, who made a ſport of mankind, was, by their inſatiable ambition, a ſource of endleſs calamities to nations.

But as amidſt the viciſſitudes of war, after a certain revolution of ſieges and battles, the ſcale muſt neceſſarily lean on one ſide; five or ſix powers ſubdued all the others, and reduced them to a ſtate of inferiority.

This, however, was of no benefit to Europe, for the five great ſtates, having conſiderably increaſed in ſtrength, continued to diſturb it full as much as before, forcing the petty ſovereigns to take part in their quarrel, or to furniſh them with troops, in quality of auxiliaries.

Unfortunately for the univerſal commonwealth, there was not one of theſe overbearing powers which had acquired a ſufficient force to ſwallow up the others; in that caſe there would have been an end of war, and the nations would have lived in that happineſs which Europe enjoyed when a province to the Roman empire.

Moſt of the powers having, in proceſs of time, been ſubdued, only two or three political

political quarrels remained, but theſe affected every ſtate in the Chriſtian world.

Among ſo many monarchs, it was impoſſible but there muſt have been ſeveral tyrants; this produced domeſtic feuds, which degenerated into inteſtine wars. Thoſe nations who were ill governed, comparing themſelves with thoſe who were well governed, were for incorporating themſelves with thoſe ſtates which had good laws, or at leaſt they inſiſted on remedying the defect of theirs. On the other hand, the princes who had founded their deſpotiſm in a change of the conſtitution, ſtrenuouſly ſupported the corruption; and the conſequence was, what always is the conſequence in ſtates, where arbitrary power will bear rule, I mean, the princes were unhappy, and the people wretched.

LET-

LETTER LII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Cotao-yu-ſe, *Cenſor of the Empire, at* Pekin.

Paris.

IN this kingdom are three ſorts of people; one wear a ſword; the ſecond a long robe; and the third, who are claſſed with the firſt, have hanging down from their necks a bit of white linen, about half a foot in length, and as fine as any made in India.

Theſe people have a moſt hearty contempt for each other, ſo that theſe three ſtates, ſaid to be created for the public tranquillity, are continually at war together: endeavours have been uſed for reconciling them in a ſettled and permanent peace; ſeveral conferences have been held for this good purpoſe, but all without effect, becauſe the quarrel ariſes from prejudices in each: ſo that the firſt ſtep towards reconciling theſe three ſtates, muſt be to aboliſh them.

The eccleſiaſtics ſay, that the military men are totally void of any morality; thoſe again reproach the former with having

having too much ambition, and likewiſe accuſe the men of the law with the want of equity.

This diſpute, it is ſaid, will never be brought to an end, becauſe the articles of the charge on all ſides are well grounded.

Now judge what confuſion there muſt be in all the claſſes of a political ſociety, when they who ſhould maintain order, are the firſt in diſturbing it.

The reaſon given for this (for no abuſe here is without its ſuppoſed reaſon) is, that this very contraſt upholds the ſtate, which otherwiſe would degenerate into an abſolute deſpotiſm; the equilibrium, ſay they, is maintained by the continual colliſion of theſe bodies.

At this rate, what ſayeſt thou of a government where a continual war with itſelf is neceſſary to prevent its total corruption?

LETTER LII.

The ſame, to the Mandarin Cotao-yu-ſe, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

I Was ſcarce cured of the head-ach, which I had got at the opera, when, by indulging the curioſity of ſeeing a tragedy, I found myſelf, the next day, ſeized with a burning fever with delirious ſymptoms.

A French tragedy is one of the moſt dreadful diverſions a mortal can take. The paſſions are excited, the ſenſes are diſordered, the heart throbs, the ſoul is rent, grief crowds in from all parts, and however the ſpectator may endeavour to withſtand ſuch emotions, he at length yields to the impreſſion, and his eyes pour forth a torrent of tears.

I was ſcarce ſeated, when two or three actors and actreſſes made their appearance alternately on the ſtage; the ſight of them ſurpriſed me, for though ſaid to repreſent human creatures, they are nothing like them. Their garb has no affinity with that of any mortal now living on the face of the whole earth. Moſt of them

them had long feathers on their heads, which reduced their faces to the middle of their bodies. They wore jackets laced behind like womens ſtays, but ſpreading out towards the lower part. At the top of theſe were faſtened rong robes, with trains trailing along without end.

Their large ſabres intimated that they had a deſign of murdering one another, and then making their eſcape, for they were all booted and ready to mount. I perceived by their air that the heart of every one was big with momentous things, which they had to ſay to each other, and that a quarrel would enſue.

As the play went on their paſſions increaſed, till their eyes became wild, and various diſtortions ſpread all over their features. Two eſpecially, one in the habit of a Roman Emperor, and a female ſlave dreſſed up like a Queen, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their vociferations and howlings. At laſt their rancour roſe to ſuch a terrible degree, that I could perfectly ſee them foam with rage. Spite, hatred, revenge, deſpair, and all the infernal paſſions, broke out on their countenances.

Not

Not being able to account for ſuch burſts of reſentment, I aſked one of the audience who ſat next to me, what could be the meaning of it? why, ſaid he, thoſe whom you ſee yonder on the ſtage, repreſent the heroes of antiquity. Thoſe heroes, ſaid I, Sir, I ſuppoſe, were demons: Demons, replied he, no, great, illuſtrious men.

Thou wilt obſerve, notwithſtanding my neighbour's anſwer, that it could not be ſo; for had there been any ſuch demoniacs in the world, the police would have taken care of them; they would have been ſhut up in mad-houſes, as out of their minds, or been chained down as lunatics; for never in the world could madneſs and frenzy have been accounted virtues.

The ſubjects repreſented in tragedies are not leſs ſtriking than the repreſentation. I cannot think on the diſtreſſes with which a King, the chief ſubject of the play, was afflicted that evening, without ſhuddering. Ten entire ages could not pour ſo many evils on the head of any one ſingle mortal; he had not one inſtant of reſpite. At the very beginning of the repreſentation he was unhappy;

py; from the very firſt ſcene croſſes, diſtreſſes and tortures flocked from all parts to meet at the fifth act, which, in French tragedy, is the centre of afflictions and ſufferings, and in which is given the finiſhing ſtroke to the hero.

The French are ſaid to be of ſuch a merry turn, as to laugh at every thing; I rather think they are of a melancholy caſt, for a very trifle ſets them a weeping; a fancy, a chimera, a picture, ſhall draw forth their tears; but theſe muſt be forced, they muſt be out of nature, and repreſent paſſions which never exiſted; in a word, what they want is imaginary *entity*. The fancy of the Europeans is ſo worn, that plainneſs and truth make no impreſſion on them. Should a real ſubject, ſuch as happens every day amongſt them, be brought on the ſtage in its natural colours, it would be hiſſed as inſipid and lifeleſs; it would ſet the whole audience a yawning. The poet, who would affect the mind, muſt diſplay a luxuriancy of fancy, and make uſe of new ideas, contrary to the laws of nature and conſanguinity; the ſucceſs of theſe performances depending on their being unnatural and atrocious. A father muſt imbrue his hands

hands in his daughter's blood, a child muſt plot againſt the life of him to whom he owes his own, a wife muſt conſpire againſt her huſband, &c.

The common notion here is, that the events exhibited in tragedy, imitate the manners of antient times; this is wrong: I have read the hiſtory of antient times, and they were far from being ſuch as the French tragedy repreſents them. If now and then we diſcern ſome reſembling features, the acceſſaries are ſo disfigured, that the originals cannot be known.

This exhibition is not an imitation of the real misfortunes of the world, nor a copy of events which have formerly happened on earth, but a modern folly, without any original at all.

The art of tragical declamation in France, is without any limits; it is carried as far as it can reach; the rules of modeſty and decency have no place here. In the tragic ſcene there is no ſex, all the characters are furies alike; gentleneſs and modeſty, the peculiar ornaments and virtues of women, are not known there; a young princeſs is as choleric and boiſterous as a courtezan. Were you to ſee the indecency of the capital ſlave of this theatre,

theatre, when, throwing off all reſerve, ſhe gives herſelf up to her predominant impulſes, it would for ever put you out of conceit with the whole ſex. She is an arrant Alecto, her features are convulſed, her eyes are full of wildneſs, her very complexion turns pale and livid; ſhe's a perfect fright. The ſtage is ſaid to be *a dangerous ſchool in France*; for my part I know of none better againſt the love of women; for it is not by terrifying men that they are brought to love them. Yet the two principal perſonages here are eſteemed to be inimitable actors, eſpecially for natural acting; whereas, in my opinion, the ſun is not farther from Saturn, than their repreſentation is from graceful nature.

LETTER LIV.

The Mandarin Kié-tou-na, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* Paris.

Pekin.

SO many precautions are neceſſary in China, for the well-governing of a ſtate, and the prince, in the guidance of the empire, ſtands in need of ſuch wiſdom, virtue, knowledge and diſcernment, that, I own,

I own, I cannot conceive how, amidſt ſuch an enormous depravation of manners in Europe, the people can be well governed.

With us, the Sovereign's being without any vices is not thought ſufficient to preſerve a ſtate from falling into decay, but the people alſo muſt be exempt from vice; it is only by a conformity or intercourſe between the Emperor's virtue and that of the empire, that the latter can ſupport itſelf.

This I have already intimated to thee, and now repeat it; give me an account of the European governments, explain to me what are the ſprings of them, inſtruct me in that ſcience, which, in every climate of the world, ought to be accounted the moſt important of any, ſince it is the ſoul of civil ſociety.

LETTER LV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

A Great part of the nation here meet every day in ſhops called Coffee-houſes, where they drink a dark-coloured liquor

liquor for quickening their fancy. A man, after taking his doſe of coffee, acquires ſuch a fund of wit, that he can hold forth for four hours ſucceſſively on nothing. Among thoſe who never fail in their attendance at theſe places of reſort, are a ſet of philoſophers, who ſpend their life in contemplating matter and form; a table and a cup ſhall employ their admiration from morning till night.

Theſe ſhops are eſpecially frequented by a ſet of fine geniuſes called politicians. Great men truly! you can't conceive with what readineſs and eaſe they ſettle the intereſts of Princes. Their penetration, to be ſure, is unparalleled, they know every thing, they ſee into every thing, nothing eſcapes them; they unravel the moſt complicated affairs, and, in an hour, will diſpatch you more buſineſs than the moſt dexterous miniſters in a whole twelvemonth.

In theſe ſhops all the idlers of this capital, all who have no other buſineſs in the world than to kill time with frivolous chat, ſpend their day and ſome part of the night: alſo a ſet of military men, called Knights of St. Lewis, inſipid mortals, and endleſs ſtory-tellers, ſtow themſelves

ſelves here from morning to night. I have been told of a Knight who lived forty years in one of theſe ſhops, and though dead he has not left it. The boys poſitively affirm that he makes his appearance every night, and they hear him call, A diſh of coffee. Theſe ſhops are excellently calculated for indolence of body and heavineſs of mind. Had idleneſs itſelf been to have choſe a manſion, it could not have ſuited itſelf better.

Every coffee-houſe in Paris has its ſign, which is a kind of emblem, indicating the company that frequent it. Being deſirous of taking a view of them, I went to the coffee-houſe of the polite arts, in order to obſerve thoſe which this nation has improved; but all the ſpecimen of any art which I could ſee there, was the coffee-room clock.

Thence I went to the wits coffee-houſe; but inſtead of finding any of theſe gentry, the company was all Swiſſers. In the continuation of my courſe, I came to the coffee-houſe of fine geniuſes, and here I found only Germans. The next coffee-houſe which lay in my way was that of the literati: I immediately perceived that its cuſtomers had not the

leaſt title to that diſtinction, almoſt all of them being doctors.

I proceeded to the coffee-houſe of the orators; and here, inſtead of a Demoſthenes, I ſaw only a paultry ſcribbler, who, beſides, ſtuttered moſt diſagreeably. I did not neglect calling at the French academy coffee-houſe, but here was only a parcel of chattering boys. At laſt, in hopes of getting ſome inſight into the European art of war, I ordered my coachman to drive to the military coffee-houſe; here the moſt able officer I met with was the head waiter; he indeed had been a ſerjeant in the militia.

LETTER LVI.

The ſame, to the Mandarin Cotao-yu ſe, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

I HAVE been at the opera-ball *; this is a public meeting where they dance all night. They who come to it ſeem to think it a place of ill repute, as, inſtead of coming with their own faces, they generally borrow that of another. It is even allowed to be there of an-

* The Maſquerade.

other

other nation than of one's own; for my part, my phiz being looked on here as a ſort of maſk, I made it ſerve.

I was no ſooner in the ball-room than three Chineſe came up to me, aſking me what news from Pekin; I anſwered them in our language, but from their not underſtanding me, I ſuſpected they were Chineſe born at Paris. I was next accoſted by two Indians, whom I as ſoon diſcovered to have no more relation to that country than the former. After theſe, a Turk approached me with a low inclination of his body, and taking off his turban, whence I concluded him to be a ſham Muſſulman.

Within a minute after, a ſavage of North America joined me; but he ſo overflowed with politeneſs, and ſpoke ſuch good French, that I made no doubt but he was born at a Verſailles.

The nations of all parts of the world dance and gambol together at this ball, juſt as if all the dances in the univerſe were French. A Chineſe invited a young Turkiſh lady to dance a minuet with him, and both performed ſo well, that one would have thought the dance came originally from Aſia.

A ſlave of the Conſtantinople ſeraglio courted the Grand Signior to trip a rigadoon with her; and, ſoon after, who ſhould I ſee dance the * *Aimable*, but our Emperor.

Some of the principal clergy of France uſually are preſent at this ball, *as maſters of the ceremonies*. A biſhop broke from a group of prieſts to come and aſk me how I liked the aſſembly: it is very fine indeed, my Lord, ſaid I, though ſomething extraordinary; and pray where is the extraordinarineſs of it?——It is, anſwered I, to ſee your lordſhip here.

After the biſhop, three or four monks of different orders accoſted me. You have nothing like this at Pekin, ſaid one; very true, reverend father, anſwered I; for long before this time of night our bonzes are retired to their cells, and ſhould any one dare to perſonate them in ſuch an indecent place as this, the mandarins among us, who are to ſee that religion be not in any wiſe profaned, would lay hold of them, and a ſevere baſtinade would be their portion.

Finding myſelf by this time a little tired, I went and ſat down in a box;

* A grave European dance.

here

here a veſtal, with her veil over her head, came and ſquatted herſelf down cloſe to me; but her indecent talk ſoon diſcovered her to be a woman of the town. Some time after a nun, with a white veil and a black habit, came into the ſame box, and, after a brief introduction, aſked me to go and lay with her—— Canſt thou think that ſuch diverſions do not corrupt the morals? and that a government, which connives at, or rather countenances meetings of this kind, is well policed?

LETTER LVII.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham pi-pi, *at* Pekin.

Lyons.

I AM juſt returned from a journey to Geneva; the motive to which was a ſtrong deſire of ſeeing an European, who is looked upon to be the fineſt genius of his age.

This great man, inſtead of reſiding in the city of that name, lives at a delightful ſeat ſome diſtance from it, where he keeps an excellent table for the enter-

tainment of ſtrangers, who come to admire him. It is ſaid to be the firſt time, ſince the revival of arts and ſciences in Europe, that ever a poet was known to keep a cook.

No ſeat could have ſuited him ſo well, here his perſon is ſafe; for this great luminary, you muſt know, is at variance with all the princes in Europe. Moſt fortunately for him, there happened to be a little neutral ſpot, and here he has been received; otherwiſe, perhaps, he might have been forced to put an end to his exiſtence, for want of a place to exiſt in.

His ſeat ſtands on the ground of two foreign contiguous ſovereignties, and, as it were, ſits a ſtraddle on two powers: ſo that in caſe of an attempt againſt him by any potentate, it would be only running into one of the oppoſite rooms, and there he is in a different country. This is no bad contrivance for a writer under the diſpleaſure of princes; for here in Europe they reſpect nothing but the frontiers of ſtates.

The very day after my arrival I went to his ſeat, and word being carried in that a Chineſe was come to wait on him, the

the doors of his apartment were immediately opened to me. The ſight of him really frightened me. I took him for a ghoſt; at leaſt, I never ſaw a living man more like one: all the fleſh on the bones of this European mummy would ſcarce make ſix ounces. As he exiſts, he muſt be neceſſarily a ſpirit, for body he has none. You readily conceive that he muſt be pretty well in years, as a young phantom is what never was ſeen.

I had a deal of talk with him about Aſia, and many queſtions did he aſk me concerning the Chineſe government. Good God! how minute are the great European geniuſes, when compared with their books!

Never did author publiſh ſo many different works, or was ſo prolific in volumes. The demon of his ideas is continually working in him; he neither ſleeps nor wakes, he muſes. His wit is continually at variance with his fancy, he ſpends his whole life in hatching; he often brings forth, but many of his productions are twins; he is truly the father in the *Menechmi* †, for his memory often gives his wit the ſlip; and he is ſo uſed to partu-

† A play of *Plautus*.

rition, that he often delivers himſelf of the ſame productions.

No thought can eſcape him, but whatever offers he ſeizes on; all he is maſter of he turns to uſe; the public partake of the utmoſt extent of his genius. Poſterity will have the whole of him; he will be ſeen on the ſtage of genius, whilſt his mind ſhall be able to furniſh him with compoſitions; and when he does die, it will only be when he has nothing more to ſay.

Contrary to all the rules of literature, he is rich. It is now half a century he has been trading in genius; he is reckoned one of the greateſt wit-mongers ever known in Europe; he has vended to bookſellers to the amount of four hundred thouſand livres of his conceits; and to forward his wiſhed-for opulence, he has often ſold them the ſame goods twice.

I ſhall paſs over the republic of Geneva, not intending to trouble you with atoms of the European governments. The power of this is circumſcribed within a city, and the city is inſignificant in point of power. The adjacent ſovereigns would already have laid their hands on it,

it; could it have contributed to their grandeur; but the conqueſt of it would not add a ſingle jot to their ſtrength. The Genevois believe neither in the maſs nor the Pope: hence they are very induſtrious and laborious, and of an extraordinary fecundity in population. The chief object of their application is clock-work; their ingenuity turns on minutes and ſeconds; they ſhew the hour of the day to all Chriſtian nations, ſo that this republic may now be looked on as Europe's ſun-dial.

LETTER LVIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

LUXURY prevails in France to a moſt diſorderly exceſs: it has brought confuſion into all the claſſes of ſociety, and thus deſtroyed the order and decency of outward ſubordination. The loweſt man in the ſtate is cloathed like the firſt; the artificer dreſſes himſelf out like the tradeſman, and the cit is as nice in his apparel as the gentleman. The

gentleman rivals the prince, and the prince is as fine as the king: ſo farewel the decency of diſtinctions; and now there is no viſible difference between a maſter and a lackey, a princeſs and a kept miſtreſs.

But would you believe it, this exceſs of general luxury has its riſe from the public wretchedneſs; one and all affect a wealth which they have not, and will appear to be what they are not. Many, who can ſcarce afford to go on foot, muſt needs have a carriage; and by this luxury of an equipage they muſt go without many things which may be accounted real neceſſaries in life.

Here the ſuperfluous is always preferred before the neceſſary; they will go without what is uſeful, rather than want what is ſhowy. In a little time they will leave off eating and drinking, and mind only dreſſing. Agriculture and gardening will be laid aſide; as mechanic trades then will ſuffice.

The maſters in politicks ſay that this luxury is neceſſary, as the only way for circulating riches in a monarchy. I ſhould not be againſt this maxim, were it not ſo exceſſively abuſed; but whilſt this

this overgrown luxury rapidly draws the riches on one ſide, it retards their motion on the other: and that is but a bad circulation which is not limited by moderation and equality.

But were all the arguments in favour of monarchical luxury true, ſtill would it be productive of a want of ſubordination, the miſchiefs of which in ſociety overbalance all the advantages of circulation.

The firſt inſtructors in civil life obſerved that the external appearance has a great influence on the phyſical ſtate of man; and this was the reaſon of their aſſigning to each claſs a particular ſort or mode of cloathing.

It is certain that the laws are very much hurt, when they who ſhould be plainly cloathed affect the appearance of their ſuperiors; but it is a common fault in all modern legiſlatures, that they do not adapt the laws of policy to the ſalutary maxims of morality.

LETTER LIX.

The ſame, to the Mandarin Miniſter, at Pekin.

Paris.

THE King of France never buſies himſelf in affairs of the ſtate; they do not concern him: ſhould he go about ruling it, the weight of the monarchy would cruſh him; and by admitting a ſubject to ſhare it with him, he would have an equal. He has totally thrown off the load from himſelf; but as the concerns of civil and political ſociety muſt be going on, he creates, in lieu of himſelf, vice-ſovereigns, who take on themſelves the direction of the ſeveral affairs of France.

His way of diſpenſing himſelf from being King is this; he takes the crown to pieces, and the throne he divides into four different parts or governments, which in the miniſterial phraſeology are called offices.

In theſe offices conſiſts the monarchy of France; they who are at the head of them ſuperintend the wars by ſea and land, the finances, and foreign affairs.

The

The war office's care is, that the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty die methodically in battle; and that when one army is deſtroyed, it may immediately be replaced by another, ready for the like cataſtrophe.

The marine office ſees that there be few ſhips of war; and indeed the naval force of the kingdom as low as poſſible.

The finance office, or treaſury, manages matters ſo that the King may have a great deal of money, and the ſubjects little or nothing.

The office of foreign affairs takes care that every thing be foreign to the Prince, and that he may not know a word of what is tranſacted in his ſtate.

Agreeably to this eſtabliſhment, every head of office ſets to work, and endeavours to diſcharge his function in the beſt manner he can.

I had almoſt forgot to tell thee, that theſe folks are here called miniſters of ſtate.

LETTER LX.

Continuation of the great Epochas of Europe.

To the ſame, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

IN the fifteenth century we meet with a phænomenon, which changed the face of Europe. I find that the Chriſtians herein incurred the guilt of high treaſon. God, at the creation of the heaven and earth, divided the world into ſeveral parts, ſeparated by immenſe ſeas; he had concealed nations, as it were, behind the globe, unqueſtionably that they might have no communication with thoſe who dwelled in the center; for had it been his intention that all mankind ſhould form but one ſociety, he would have brought them nearer together. It is to be preſumed, that the virtues of one could not be ſuitable to the other, nor their religion be the ſame, ſince he had ſeparated them in this manner.

However ſtrongly inclined the Europeans were to ſpread terror and deſolation

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tion every-where, their rage had hitherto been neceſſarily confined to themſelves. There was no track on the ocean, till an Italian invented the compaſs and then no part of the world lay concealed.

Prince Henry, ſon to a Sovereign, whoſe dominions were ſcarce equal to half of one of our middling provinces, undertook to diſcover the reſt of the earth, and, on that title, to take poſſeſſion of it. The European hiſtorians, who almoſt always miſtake vices for virtues, call him a great philoſopher; and moſt of the eminent authors give him the title of great, to be ſure, becauſe he did great things: but it is doing good things which alone makes one great. Had he been really a philoſopher, he muſt have foreſeen that men, having made a wrong uſe of every thing, this diſcovery alſo would be abuſed.

They who before the reign of this Prince had expoſed themſelves to the boiſterous deep, having, as they conceived, diſcovered the world's end, had fixed it at a certain degree from the tropic of the Europeans; but Henry ſhewed them, that, inſtead of being the end, it was only

only the beginning; he forced this barrier, and ſoon found himſelf in another univerſe. Then, for the firſt time, were ſeen men of another ſpecies, and of a frightful appearance, black from head to foot. Another firmament, monſters, and new plants, were diſcovered.

Theſe diſcoveries would have done honour to the Chriſtian world, had the motive to them been to make thoſe nations more happy; but, from the very firſt, this new ſpecies became corrupted by the examples of the Europeans. They were at ſo much pains, and ran ſo much hazards, only to communicate the venom of their paſſions to men who before could not well fail of being happy, as they had nothing to do but to make themſelves eaſy.

Having doubled a cape, which was to open a way round Africa, they called it the CAPE of GOOD HOPE, a name which ſince has miſled all the world. At firſt they fought with theſe new men, to get from them ſpices and other drugs, which, till then, they had always done without. The firſt ſtep was to barter the blood of the Europeans againſt commodities; but this was only a beginning of the more

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early enterpriſes: deſigns of another kind came to be formed, when from other diſcoveries it came to be apprehended that the earth was greater than at firſt had been believed.

Till then the wars of the Chriſtians had been only between neighbour and neighbour, being limited within Europe. An inſignificant mortal took it into his head to enlarge their extent. Several ages before him, a conqueror, of the name of Alexander, had in ſome meaſure laid open the globe; but, on his death, the gates ſhut again of themſelves, and the parts of the world, as before, continued divided. An Italian, called Chriſtopher Columbus, undertook to unite them together, and of the whole earth to make but one theatre of human viciſſitudes.

Columbus derived his ambition from the Portugueſe; his imagination took fire, and, from ſeveral remarks on the world which was known, he judged there muſt be another unknown. All the princes of Europe were then ſo poor, that not one of them could fit out two or three ſhips to go and take poſſeſſion of this new world. The Spaniſh monarch

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narch closed with the proposal, but not at his own expence; several private persons joined to raise a sum for defraying the charges of an enterprise which was to cause such an alteration throughout Europe.

To reflect how much the greatest revolutions in Europe have depended on fortuitous combinations, cannot but raise our astonishment. Had not those times afforded two or three individuals to support this expensive undertaking, very probably America, the fourth part of the world, would not at this day been known to the other three.

The conquests of the Portuguese and the Spaniards excited the emulation and avidity of other nations: all were for coming in for a share, so that the Europeans fought with one another, to rule over free and independent people, and to subdue empires and nations to which they had no manner of right. This is the greatest injustice ever committed among mankind. The two nations who led the way in this horrid guilt have never prospered; they have been ever since weak, indolent and degenerating.

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The firſt act of oppreſſion was to inſiſt that theſe people ſhould be of the ſame belief as they, not knowing that their nature was not adapted to that religion; and that for people, three or four thouſand leagues diſtant from one another, to believe in the ſame Deity is utterly impoſſible; their morality may be the ſame, but their tenets muſt neceſſarily differ. Nations idolatrous by their climate, could make but bad Chriſtians, and of courſe bad members of ſociety. There you have the ſource of the natural antipathy between the Americans, Indians, and Europeans.

Some Mandarins of the papal ſect uſed to tell them, that Chriſt had fifteen hundred years before died for their ſakes equally with the reſt of mankind. This was making known ſuch important news to them very late; theſe nations had cauſe of complaint againſt the Deity, who had let their anceſtors live ſo many ages in a religion which was not that which they ſhould have had: an unhappy prejudice, which gave occaſion to ſuch accumulated guilt! millions of men were murdered for the preſervation of a ſmall number of believers. The univerſe reeked with human

man blood. Here the religion of Chriſt again became a ſcourge to the earth, laying waſte America, and a great part of Africa.

The wars on that continent make a very ſhocking part of hiſtory; there is no reading the accounts of ſuch horrid butcheries and other crimes, committed in cool blood by man againſt man, without, in ſome meaſure, regretting our being men. Harmleſs nations are ſurpriſed, ſeiſed, made priſoners, and loaded with chains; their temples demoliſhed, their gods trampled on, their kings ſhackled, and put to ignominious tortures. Were the Europeans guilty of no other crimes, equitable nations muſt ever look on them as abominable monſters. If heaven be juſt, ſuch atrocious guilt cannot eſcape puniſhment.

We ſhall one day hear at Pekin that this part of the world is deſtroyed, together with all its inhabitants. Chaſtiſement already begins to declare itſelf; one of the moſt ſplendid European cities has been lately ſwallowed up; and moſt juſtly did heaven diſcharge its firſt bolts on that kingdom, as the firſt who led the way

way to the new world, and ſet other nations an example of ſuch guilt.

Were it not for its conqueſts, its ancient emigrations would not have been paſt remedy; good laws had ſufficed; a ſucceſſion of worthy princes might have repaired the faults of ſo many bad ones: but now ſhe will never recover herſelf; a germ of deſtruction is continually growing within her very boſom.

By an infatuation, which muſt have proceeded from their avidity, their eyes were ſo fixed on the unknown continent, that they quite overlooked that which was known. America and the Indies became the principal, and Europe was only an appendant; the latter was left fallow, for the ſake of cultivating the former. Commodities were raiſed there, but commodities were not worth human lives: in ſhort, two parts of the world were diſpeopled to people one, which yet never has been peopled.

Divine vengeance, far from delaying its viſitations to future times, manifeſted itſelf, even at the commencement of the guilt: a diſtemper then unknown, and contracted in theſe new worlds, attacked life in the very ſource of life and delight.

It

It raged thro' all Europe, and both ſexes were infected with it. The ſeat of the diſtemper being in generation itſelf, it ſpread by propagation, ſo that nature has loſt its vigour, and is degenerating from its priſtine purity and ſoundneſs. The loathſome contagion has diſſeminated its venom every where, and at preſent innocence is no certain ſecurity againſt it; the poiſon ferments in thoſe who are not of an age to expoſe themſelves to it. Marriage, that moſt ſacred engagement, is not exempt from it, for its malignity impregnates the whole maſs of blood.

It ſpares not virgins themſelves; its corruption precedes the depravation of manners: laws, religion, and morality cannot prevent its effects: they may prohibit the act by which the diſtemper is contracted, but not ſuppreſs the diſtemper, this is out of their reach.

It is a wretched inheritance tranſmitted by fathers to their children, who convey it to their deſcendants from one generation to another. Europe is no little better than a ſociety of diſeaſed people, and its ſeveral nations are valetudinary bodies.

The phyſicians make uſe of a medicament called mercury, which acts by its own weight, and, as they ſay, precipitates the venom; but this remedy in general does little good; for however it may cleanſe the blood, the corruption ſtill is gaining ground. Nothing can totally diminuate the venom, and reſtore this part of the world to its original vigour, but covering all Europe with mercury, and its ſeveral nations ſubmitting to the ſovereign remedy, if what goes under that name deſerves it.

One would think all the evils of the world had been annexed to this diſcovery. The inſide of the earth was ſearched, and in it they found immenſe treaſures, which put the finiſhing hand to Europe's ruin. I never was more convinced of the ſuperiority of our government above that of the Chriſtians, than by this Epocha. The edicts of our Emperors, againſt opening gold and ſilver mines, ſhow that they knew the true opulence of a people to conſiſt in products and manufactures, and not in a metal, which, being in itſelf neither food nor raiment, cannot be an article of riches. Had the Chriſtian Princes of thoſe times been in the leaſt

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acquainted with œconomical adminiſtration, never would they have allowed ſuch an importation of metals into Europe, as they might cauſe a great deal of miſchief, and would not do one ſingle good.

They ſhould have kept to the ancient ſtandard of wealth, and have timely checked any large increaſe of ſpecie, as ſuch a change would neceſſarily bring on a revolution: gold and ſilver repreſent all the ſeveral kinds of riches, they are the mirror of the public affluence; but however large the glaſs, it always ſhews the objects alike. The rate of proviſions, and every neceſſary and conveniency of life, roſe in proportion to the plenty of theſe metals: for whether Europe has a thouſand millions of ſpecie, or a hundred thouſand millions, it is, in itſelf, a matter of indifference; the former will go as far as the latter. I have ſtudied this proportion in the Chriſtian hiſtorians, and find that there is at preſent in Europe twenty times more ſpecie than before the diſcovery of the new world; an immenſe amount, and rather cumberſome than uſeful. Such are the good effects which the mines did not produce among

among the Europeans; and the miſchiefs done by them are theſe:

By making ſome Chriſtian Princes powerful on a ſudden, they whetted their deſires, and rouzed their ambition. Theſe Sovereigns formed a thouſand ſchemes of aggrandiſement, which they had never thought of before; and by the geometrical diſtribution of riches, which obtained previouſly to the diſcovery of the American mines, moſt of the Sovereigns had it not in their power to be very troubleſome; they could not afford to be ambitious.

America having ſtocked them with money, they purchaſed ſoldiers, and with theſe filled all places with tumult and diſorder.

By the enormous luxury which at this time grew into vogue, the Europeans became poor and indigent amidſt a full ocean of riches. As theſe metals abounded, agriculture decreaſed; they ingroſſed every body's thoughts, they were the univerſal paſſion, whilſt the great principle, that gold and ſilver are only metals repreſentative of wealth, was utterly forgotten.

LETTER LXI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Cotao-yu-ſe, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

THE diſorder I had got at the French tragedy inſenſibly turned to a melancholy or vapours. In the night I was haunted with ghoſts and phantoms, and in the day my fancy was hurried with murders and aſſaſſinations.

I applied myſelf to the learned faculty of phyſicians. Its ſolemn members, after deliberating on the ſeveral ſymptoms of my diſeaſe, agreed that it was to be diſcuſſed by another of an oppoſite nature; this, it ſeems, is the uſual method of that reſpectable college; accordingly, to cure me of the noxious effects of tragedy, I was directed to frequent comedies. The preſcription was as follows:

"The patient muſt ſee *Pourceaugnac*; "in caſe *Pourceaugnac* ſhould not take "effect, let him go to the *Mercure Ga-* "*lant*, which is an antidote againſt every "peccant and atrabilarious humour; "ſhould he, after this piece, find no "relief,

" relief, we preſcribe the *Affected La-*
" *dies*; and ſhould all the premiſes fail,
" we refer him to the incomparable
" *Cheats of Scapin*; the patient muſt eſ-
" pecially mind the ſcene of the bag."

When in health we make no account of doctors, but look upon them as dealers in an uncertain ſcience; yet when ſickneſs comes on us, the ſight of them inſpires joy, and we kindly ſubmit to their preſcriptions.

No body ever longed more for any thing, than I for the acting of the ſpecifics mentioned in the preſcription; and, in the mean time, by way of regimen, I was at ſeveral ſhort pieces, as the *River of Forgetfulneſs*, the *Inchanted Cup*, the *Three Couſins*, the *Lover*, *Author and Valet*, and the *Frenchman at London*.

No *Pourceaugnac* nor *Mercury* was acted; but, at length, the King's comedians advertiſed the *Cheats of Scapin*, and, after that, the *Affected Ladies*. I had great hopes from theſe two pieces, on which the reſpectable faculty laid the chief ſtreſs; but I know not how, ſo far was the remedy from operating, that I was taken with a fit of oſcitancy, juſt at the ſcene of the bag, whence I expected relief.

However I perceived that preſcription to be according to art; for the audience laughed immoderately. There muſt have been ſome radical defect in me which the faculty could not heal; perhaps it is not given to a Chineſe, who has any turn of thought, to laugh like a Frenchman at the bald jokes and obſcene ambiguities with which theſe farces are ſtuffed. It is a gift of nature; in order to this, the taſte muſt be ſo far vitiated as to prefer words to things, phraſes to expreſſion, and inſipid drollery to ſound morality.

All the comedies played at this theatre are not farces; ſome are of a ſerious turn, and aim at the reformation of manners; theſe uſually abound in portraits and characters.

Every capital vice of ſociety has a particular piece expreſsly calculated for it. But the fault intended to be expoſed, I think, is too far-fetched, and the character in which it appears on the ſtage ſo overdone, that it is perpetually out of its ſphere. Though the Europeans are not a little ridiculous in every thing, they are moſt ſo in their dramatical pieces;

pieces; their comedy overſhoots nature; the copies are ſo changed, that the original is ſcarce to be known.

A Frenchman, as covetous, as hypocritical, as much given to lying, as ſelfiſh, as proud, as conceited, as ſilly, as impertinent as their plays make him, would naturally exclude himſelf from all company.

The reaſon alledged for this is, that on the ſtage objects ſhould be magnified; which appears to be a miſtake: if the theatre, as the very Europeans allow, be a mirror in which every one is to ſee himſelf, why ſhould not he appear in his real ſize? I am continually looking out for nature in Europe, and every where I meet only with art.

LETTER LXII.

The ſame, to the ſame, at Pekin.

Paris.

THE French grandees live in ſtrange ſplendor; they are attended by a kind of lords, called footmen or valets; theſe attendants are as well dreſſed as themſelves, and generally as well looking men. They aſſume their accent,

manner and carriage. and ape them ſo well, that there is little or no difference between the copy and the original. As to morals they are exactly the ſame, it being a kind of proverb here, *like maſter like man*

If a French gentleman be a bottle-man, his footman is generally a ſot. If the maſter be conceited, proud and overbearing, his footman is ſullen, impertinent and haughty.

Their talents alſo go hand in hand: a footman to a miniſter of ſtate is uſually a kind of petty miniſter acquainted with courts. The politician takes a lackey practiſed in intrigues, and verſed in the intereſt of princes; and the fortune-hunter has ſome arch fellow, who knows how to put the women of quality under contribution.

That nothing may be wanting in the metamorphoſis, they bear the ſame titles as their maſters: if an officer wears a croſs at his button-hole, his lackey is called Chevalier: if he wears a band, his footman is dignified by his comrades with the ſurname of Abbé; and thus of other titles.

Theſe footmen have even the impudence to aſſume the names of the principal

pal nobility and Princes of the blood, whoſe livery they wear.

It is but lately, that, going along the ſtreet called St. Honoré's, I ſaw a man in blue accoſt another in an iſabella-coloured coat, with theſe words; Good-morrow, Luxemburg, how goes it? Very well, anſwered the other, and thou, Villeroy, how is it with thee? So, ſo, replied the former; but ſince my laſt court-journey along with Chatillon, I have a continual heat about me. The King's *petits couchers* are too rough for me, ſhould they go on, I ſhall not be able to hold it out; then farewel Verſailles.

Immediately after, ſeeing on the other ſide of the ſtreet, a tall young man with red heels and a feather in his hat, he called out to him ſo as he could be heard by every body; adieu, Conti; haſt thou ſeen Condé lately? Yes, anſwered the other, ſince Richlieu went into the country.

I was at a loſs what to think of ſuch impertinence, but I have ſince been informed that it is a prerogative of the Paris lackeys to take on themſelves their maſter's title. Etymologiſts affirm that

to be a natural right, derived from the left-ſide.

LETTER LXIII.

The Mandarin Sin-ho ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* Paris.

Lyons.

IN a few days I ſhall ſet out for Italy. A ſtranger who has no payments to make at Lyons, and is no manufacturer, nor concerned in the fabrics, is looked on with an evil eye in this city. To live with a people who, mill-horſe like, are perpetually going one and the ſame round, is a difficult point. I believe the world ſcarce affords a more inſupportable country than this, for one who has no payments to make, no money to lend, and wants none of their manufactures.

I forgot to inform you of a ſociety of bonzes whom I ſaw here, called St. John's Counts; though by their ſtate devoted to the church they are knights, and with a ſword might be taken for officers. They make a vow not to marry; and this they punctually obſerve, inſtead of wives taking up with concubines. They

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are put to very ſevere proofs, but not of virtue, that is not requiſite in their order; what they ſtand on is nobility. Be a man ever ſo vicious and debauched, on his proving himſelf noble for eight generations, on both ſides, the ſociety muſt admit him.

As the order makes no proviſion for the bonzes, every one is put to his ſhifts. Among the great number of theſe adventurers, they ſeldom fail of one who makes his fortune, ſo as to riſe to ſomething conſiderable. It is but lately that one of theſe religious knights held a conſiderable poſt at court. His brethren had great expectations from him, but the dream was too ſhort; at a time when he was thought to be ſettled in the higheſt pitch of favour, he periſhed ignominiouſly by the ſtroke of a fan. The woman who had raiſed him, tumbled him down. The idol was overthrown and broke to pieces, juſt as they had taken the cenſer to worſhip him.

LETTER LXIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Same, at* Pekin.

Paris.

A Foreigner who would be acquainted with a chart of Paris, muſt provide himſelf with a national pilot, otherwiſe, for a long time, he will only ſteer round the borders of polite company.

I have got one who was born on the banks of the Seine; he is paſt the delirious age of the French, and he himſelf ſays, that he is not now ſo mad as he was formerly. He is a man of eſtabliſhed reputation, and poſſeſſed of all the qualities, active and paſſive, which here gain the public regard. He has ſpent a large fortune, played deep, kept miſtreſſes, dogs, and horſes, and fought ſeveral duels.

He knows the intrigues of the town, and underſtands the gallantry of both ſexes; there is ſcarce any party of pleaſure, where he does not make one; he can tell you the women who played falſe with their huſbands, and thoſe who are on the eve of doing the like; nay, he

can diſtinguiſh thoſe who are really virtuous, and thoſe who are only apparently ſo.

He could write the hiſtory of the actreſſes in the playhouſe and opera. There is no intrigue of theirs but he knows. He is ſaid alſo not to want wit, that is, he has vivacity and ſallies.

Beſides, he is a man of principle, and eſpecially very true on the point of honour. He has free admittance among the great, and his foot regularly under the table of ſome perſon of eminence. His compliments are returned, and he is embraced according to form. Many tell him they have a great eſteem for him; for he has ſeen ſomething of war, and maintained the honour of the crown of France in ſeveral pitched battles; accordingly you ſee hanging at his button-hole a gold medal, tied with a narrow red ribbon, in virtue of which he is ſtiled Monſieur le Chevalier.

Tho' not quite a gentleman, he borders on nobility. The firſt of his anceſtors was footman to King Clovis. He uſed formerly to vapour pretty much about his deſcent, but a genealogiſt having proved to him that the Kings of France

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at that time had no footmen, and that their menial attendants were hinds, he is become quite dumb concerning that topic, and if ever he mentions his anceſtors, it is before ſuch as are not acquainted with the hiſtory of France.

He is a connoiſſeur in literature, and particularly fond of erudition; accordingly he diſcourſes very profoundly on the *Sopha*, *Mariane*, *the Fortunate Country Maid*, and *Paiſan Parvenu*.

LETTER LXV.

The Same, to the Cenſor of the Empire, at Pekin.

Paris.

THE French muſt certainly be very much inclined to a diſtemper called the aſthma, for they are ever walking, and ſpend their life in taking the air.

Paris has five public gardens, which they travel over from morning till night; but theſe patients are ſo alert and merry, that I ſhould not take them to be in the leaſt out of order. I am ſure they uſe their legs like people in perfect health. Thou canſt not think how odd it appears

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to a Chineſe, to ſee three or four thouſand perſons in a walk, going, coming, croſſing, avoiding each other, and, for four hours ſucceſſively, moving to one end of the walk, and going back to the other.

In China, when we are for travelling, we go out of our country; here they ſhall travel for twenty years ſucceſſively, and all within a garden. Many a Pariſian has taken more ſteps than would have carried him round the world, without ever going beyond the limits of a narrow walk.

Theſe walks are very convenient, otherwiſe the nation would not meet together, and have the means of ſeduction; whereas here one is ſure of meeting with company, and of corrupting each other. All the parties of pleaſure are ſchemed in theſe places.

The garden, which at preſent bears the bell for intrigues, is that called the *Palais-Roial*. The profeſſed libertines frequent it every day, to drive bargains for women, and throw the handkerchief to thoſe in whoſe diſpoſition they know cruelty has but little ſhare.

The goddeſſes of the opera, with the white

white and red on their illuminated faces, and in their theatrical dreſs, repair to theſe walks, and here act a new part jointly with the public, who exhibit with them.

The moſt conſtant walkers are ſome decayed military gentlemen, with a medal at their button-hole. They are perpetually in ambuſcade in the great walk, ſo that one would think they were waiting for the enemy.

LETTER LXVI.

The Same, to the Mandarin of the Ceremonies, at Pekin.

Paris.

WHEN a perſon dies here, five or ſix hundred people gather together about his door, and, taking up the corpſe, fall a ſinging along the ſtreets, as if they were glad there was a man the leſs upon earth. Yet the proceſſion is grave, and moves on in a ſtately pace, to be ſure that the public may be the longer entertained with the funeral muſic, and the ſight of much ado about nothing. On their coming to the place where the body is to be depoſited,

ſited, a final concert is ſung, after which the worms are allowed to conclude the ceremony.

The deceaſed in Europe are not deprived of light all at once; they have often more of it after death than they had in their whole lives. Many a citizen has a thouſand tapers carried before and about him, at his going from his houſe to the grave in the night. To die decently at Paris requires a good purſe; and to him who has it not, it is a ſecond death to know before hand, that he will make no figure after his death.

Oſtentation, the ſpring of moſt actions in human life, continues here even after life; and vanity ſhews itſelf in the very laſt period of human debaſement: not that the oſtentation of funerals is any thing gay; far from it; care is taken to make the ſhow lugubrious, and herein I think lies the very exceſs of European folly. It may be allowable ſometimes to mingle magnificence with our rejoicings, but ſplendor ſhould ever be excluded from melancholy. Since we are ſtumbled upon corpſes, I ſhall here give you a hiſtory of the burials.

The humour of funerals is very ancient;

ent; its epocha may be dated from the creation of the world. As ceremonies were requiſite for the eſtabliſhment of ſociety, they were continued even when the members of that ſociety no longer exiſted; and this was an offence to common ſenſe.

Funerals differed according to the climates, the genius of nations, and the temper of individuals. In ſome countries men were buried with great ſolemnity, in others a burial was a mere farce. The form of government likewiſe affected the dead. Republics buried differently from monarchies. Freedom, which ſhould have been limited to life, was extended till after death. The hiſtory of funerals is that of human extravagance.

The Romans turned this act of religion into a kind of drollery. The relations hired pantomime actors to repreſent the deceaſed. They imitated his accent, voice, and manner of expreſſion. Numbers of women were hired to weep; there was likewiſe a maſter-weeper, who beat time for the tears, and regulated the lamentations and howlings. This vocal muſic might have been termed the concert of the dead. The grief of the relations

tions was measured by the money they gave to the weepers, and these proportioned their lamentations to the reward.

That the deceased might not be unprovided, and remain above ground after his death, a piece of money was put under his tongue, to pay the duty of exportation out of this world. The Muscovites never fail, if they have it, to leave their corpses a piece of money to be delivered from hand to hand to St. Peter.

In the accounts of the dead, we meet with nations, who, instead of interring their countrymen, hang them on trees. Religion did then to the innocent, what the laws have since inflicted on malefactors.

The Egyptians deposited dead bodies in caves, and in a manner which preserves them from putrefaction; these retain even the very features in their entire form, so that the Egyptians may, in some measure, be said to live three or four thousand years after their death.

The Romans, who were for making an end of bodies when no longer living, used to burn them. The Peonians drowned them. The Hircanians, instead of leaving them to be preyed on by worms,

worms, made dogs meat of them; and that they might not be eaten by naſty curs, who fed on common carcaſes, the people of faſhion uſed to keep a pretty kind of dogs, who were to devour them after their deceaſe.

In ſome countries, the dead bodies were pounded in a mortar, and an infuſion made of them; their relations, by way of cordial, took the decoction of a corpſe. We read of other countries, where the dead were interred in reſervoirs, that they might be eaten by fiſh. When a perſon of any credit died, ſome people were immediately ſent a fiſhing; but if they had not ſucceſs, the honours of burial were denied him, and the fiſh had not his body.

Among a certain people it was prohibited to die proſtrate; he who did not expire ſtanding could not have a monument. Hereby the legiſlator might perpaps have meant a ſtimulative againſt ſloth. Such a regulation however would be of uſe in ſome European countries, where men, immerging themſelves in ſloth, are continually dying by inaction: a law obliging them to be on their legs, would keep off the ſleep of death.

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In ſome countries to be burnt after death was the peculiar honour of the nobility; it was only the low and poor who, by way of contempt, were put under ground to be eaten by worms.

There are even at preſent people among whom mankind was the ſepulchre of their own ſpecies; they ate the dead bodies. The children dreſſed their deceaſed parents, and made a banquet of them. The human breaſt is ſuſceptible of paſſions of every kind; even this ſepulchre was ſo far accounted, of all others, the moſt honourable, that theſe children who did not eat their fathers, were branded with ignominy and deteſtation.

The Braſilians eat not all corpſes indiſcriminately; this is a hoſpitality ſhewn only to their deareſt relations, and friends with whom they had a particular intimacy. In Congo, nature is intombed in nature; the mothers there very heartily eat their new-born infants.

In Cafraria, all the relations of a deceaſed perſon are to cut off the little finger of the left hand, and it is laid in the grave by the ſide of the corpſe, thus mutilating the living to gratify the dead.

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The obſequies by which nature ſuffers moſt, and mankind is the greateſt loſer, are thoſe of a Cham of Tartary. On his deceaſe, great numbers of men, as they happen to fall in the way of the ſoldiers, are maſſacred, to attend on him in the next world.

Formerly no dead bodies were allowed to be buried within the Chriſtian pagods; but at preſent they are poiſoned with rottenneſs and bones: the author of life dwells amidſt heaps of dead.

LETTER LXVII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kié-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

THOU wouldſt be informed of the manner in which the European people are governed; I'll tell thee in a minute or two, I'll give thee a compleat accountof that ſcience. It requires no manner of capacity, it can be done without any of that genius which is ſo neceſſary in our ſyſtem.

The manner in the ſeveral governments of Europe is this: When a Queen of France, of Spain, or Portugal, is delivered

livered of a male child, he is, at his very birth, ſaluted as King.

Some years after, a Mandarin of the firſt claſs puts the crown on his head, and tells him that he is of age to govern the nation, and he governs it: this is the ſcience of monarchical government.

That of a republic is not a whit more difficult; four or five hundred infants of a noble race are born at Genoa and Venice; when they have attained to the age of reaſon, they are told that their birthright intitles them to the ſovereignty; they believe it, and ſo do the people likewiſe. They take their ſeat in a large hall called the ſenate-houſe, from whence they iſſue laws to their countrymen, who thus become their ſubjects.

When a King of Poland dies, a hundred thouſand men meet together in a large plain to chuſe a ſovereign capable of governing them. The candidates make their offers, and he who gives moſt money is King. This is called an elective government,

At Rome, no ſooner has an old infirm man, ſtiled His Holineſs, cloſed his eyes, than other old men, ambitious of being holy likewiſe, ſhut themſelves up in a place

place called the conclave, where, after much debate and intrigue, the holy father is choſen by the majority of votes. This is the government of the Sovereign Pontiff.

Thou ſeeſt that to govern the people one need be no very great conjurer.

In England indeed it is not ſo very eaſy, the ſovereign power reſiding in a political body called the parliament. As this people is governed by its repreſentatives, genius is more required here; for the members of parliament muſt bribe the people*, and the King muſt corrupt the members, which requires great penetration and ſagacity. Accordingly, this government is now eſteemed the beſt conſtituted of any in Europe.

Don't imagine, however, that ſtates are without a poſitive conſtitution, every nation has its own; honour, virtue, and fear, are the principles of the three governments, but the Europeans having no longer any fear, virtue, or honour, all that is ſaid about conſtitutions is no more than

* He unqueſtionably means the elections.

a political romance, of which the theory has nothing to do with the practice.

LETTER LXVIII.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham pi-pi, *at* Paris.

Turin.

GOD, at the beginning of the world, formed the heavens, then he created the earth, afterwards he made a prodigious high mountain, which I croſſed in my way to Turin. It riſes ſo far amidſt the clouds, that the traveller, at reaching the top, finds himſelf in the region of the moon. It is the longeſt ladder in all the earth for getting up to heaven, and at the end of it you ſee the world under your feet.

I believe God had collected this immenſe heap of ſtones, with a view of building a city to ſerve as a priſon to the demons, who thus would have been cut off from all intercourſe with men; but men themſelves having been corrupted ſince the coming of him whom the Europeans call the Meſſiah, the city is become of no uſe, becauſe the demons have been impriſoned in Chriſtian bodies.

The

The city of Turin is ſmall, but regular and well built; the people are a medley of French and Italians; not frank and generous enough to be accounted French, nor ſo crafty and deceitful as to bring them under the denomination of Italians. The chemiſts go ſo far as to ſay, that, on analyzing a Piedmonteſe, out of five ounces there would be three French, and two Italian. All that theſe people want for ſpeaking, is words; with language they would expreſs themſelves like other European nations, but gibberidge is all they have. Such French and Italian as the Piedmonteſe ſpeak alternately, are two dead languages, foreign to them; and to derive the faculty of expreſſing one's thoughts from others, is always an inconveniency.

The riot, diſorder, and confuſion, ſo offenſive in the capitals of Europe, are never ſeen at Turin; every part of ſociety is in its place, and never ſtirs from it. At firſt ſight this regularity and ſubordination are perceived to flow from a purer ſource than that of delegates; the prince is immediately known to be the firſt ſheriff of his capital.

LET-

LETTER LXIX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Prime Miniſter, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

I Have ſeen the King of France; the preſence of that monarch may be enjoyed every morning at a certain hour, in the pagod, or chapel of his ſeat of Verſailles, when he goes to offer up his prayers to Chriſt; here I viewed him at my leiſure.

Lewis XV. is an old man, about ninety years of age, though ſome little books make him to be only one and fifty; but he who is much worn is very old.

They who ſaw him twenty years ago, ſay that even then the bloom of youth began to wear off; for old age has been creeping on him this long time. His gloomy haggard viſage ſhews him to have ſpent many a night without a wink of ſleep. It is reported there are ſome little apartments in the palace of Verſailles, which much impair the conſtitutions of the Kings of France. The phyſicians affirm that a Prince, after living thirty years there, loſes the uſe of all his limbs.

Several cauſes are talked of, concerning this haſty decrepitude of the French monarchs; ſome ſay it is a white ſpumy liquor made in a country called Champagne, which ſeizes on their nerves; others impute it to a little couch in an alcove of this apartment, which, ſo far from ſolacing the ſenſes, brings on a laſſitude through all the limbs. Some are poſitive that it proceeds from the many pitched battles between the Kings of France and the deer of their park, and where they are always in perſon, for nothing wears a man out ſo much as war.

Lewis, before old age came on him, ſeems to have been a very handſome Prince; but this very few people in France remember, though there are ſtill a great number who ſaw him born; ſo ſoon did this beautiful flower wither. The only remains of him are his keen and lively eyes. It is ſaid that in the prime of his former face no mortal could ſtand his looks; but, at preſent, his features are become much more humanized, ſo that now one may very ſafely even ſtare at him.

He

He is the great grandſon to that monarch, whoſe grandeur and magnificence the European mathematicians made ſuch a noiſe about at Pekin. It was as if ſeveral Princes had died, on purpoſe to clear his way to the throne. He may be truly ſaid to hold his crown from the fourth hand.

He was ſo ſickly at the demiſe of his great-grandfather, that the Mandarin regent of the kingdom thought it not proper ſo weak a Prince ſhould reign any time; and it has been ſaid, and even written, that he uſed endeavours to diſpatch him: but whether he was out in his meaſures, or the fact itſelf be falſe, young Lewis ſurvived him. What gave riſe to the ſuſpicion was, that, on his death, the crown would have fallen to the Mandarin: now, in Europe, when only a pinch of poiſon makes the difference between a reigning Prince and his preſumptive ſucceſſor, ſuch a pinch is never wanting on the Prince's table.

However it be, this monarch was early married to the daughter of a King without a kingdom; but this fugitive Prince found himſelf miſtaken in his expectations, that his alliance with the

throne of France would reſtore him to his own. All the dominions conferred on him, were a ſmall drinking ſeat, cloſe by Verſailles, where he had the liberty of complaining every day to his daughter, of being the powerleſs father-in-law to the moſt powerful King in the world.

He is, at preſent, ſovereign of a ſmall territory, within which he is to confine himſelf, and, at his death, perhaps, he may have the diſpoſal of his old cloaths.

Lewis, when a boy, had a preceptor who carefully inculcated to him, *that frugality and œconomy ought to be the capital virtues of ſovereigns*; *that time and patience bring about every thing*; *that a King, to be truly great, ſhould make little or no buſtle*; *that a Chriſtian monarch ſhould lye with his wife, and not covet any other woman.*

The preceptor's aſcendancy kept the prince within bounds; not but he could do whatever he would, but he durſt not let his will keep pace with his power, Kings, like common men, being carried away by the firſt impreſſions: one morning, however, Lewis forgot his leſſon, and remembered that he was King, and from

from that time the preceptor's aſcendancy was no more heard of.

This was no ſooner ſpread about Paris, than all the girls and young married women, flamed with emulation, exerted themſelves for the pre-eminence of governing the King and the kingdom, for here the favourite is always prime miniſter: theſe two poſts are never ſeparated; it is an eſtabliſhed cuſtom in France, that the monarch's bed and the management of public affairs go together.

At firſt he made an eſſay of his deſires on ſeveral women, but, at length, he ſettled. It is now above fourteen years that the ſame ſlave has been his favourite, which, in point of conſtancy in France, makes a full century.

I have viewed this Prince with all poſſible attention, and am much miſtaken if his eyes do not ſpeak ſome ſecret vexation preying on him: his mind never ſeems to be in its natural ſtate.

A ſudden revolution is daily expected, and it is devotion which is to be the inſtrument of new modelling the affairs of the monarchy; till that time every one ſuſpends his complaints and grievances. The memoirs are ready drawn up for

cenſuring what, at preſent, is moſt praiſed, and for defaming perſons now held in veneration. No body has the courage to rend the veil of the preſent prejudice; they who ventured only to touch upon that ſtring having been anathematized.

A great number of Lewis's ſubjects are on the watch, looking out for the inſtant of the revolution. The black bonzes never loſe ſight of it. The exiles, the diſgraced miniſters, long impatiently for this ſignal inſtant; all their engines are ready to play on the firſt advice.

But if credit may be given to a learned phiſiognomiſt, who has made chiromancy his particular ſtudy, and who ſtood next to me at Verſailles, they have ſtill a tedious time to wait; for he whiſpered me that this event would not fall out till the ſixtieth year of his real age, the uſual time when the princes of this family renounced the world, to give themſelves up to God.

LET-

LETTER LXX.

The ſame, to the ſame, at Pekin.

Paris.

IT would be high treaſon in the greateſt degree towards Lewis XV. ſhould I paſs over his virtues and good qualities.

This prince is all good-nature; he has a tender and ſympathizing ſoul; all his inclinations are benevolent; he has a natural tendency to do good; he is mild, affable, humane and generous; if ever he did any hurt, he was put upon it, and then his religion and heart muſt have been impoſed on: he has ſome things in him which, in reality, are more valuable than the firſt qualities of the greateſt Kings in the univerſe; for thou, who art ſo well acquainted with the eſtimate of virtues, knoweſt that it is eaſier for a Prince to be greater at the head of his armies, than within the walls of his palace. When a ſubject happens to ſlip into any negligence of his duty, the good Lewis, inſtead of cruſhing him with the weight of his royal vengeance, excuſes him with that fatherly indulgence which

alweys eyes the ſon more than the offence.

This good-natured Prince, returning one day from hunting, the officer of the wardrobe, who was to give him his ſhirt, happened to be off his poſt, ſo that the King was obliged to wait a full quarter of an hour, all in a ſweat: on the officer's coming up, the lord of the bedchamber began to reprimand him very angrily, till Lewis ſaid: *Oh, let him alone; I dare ſay he is ſufficiently puniſhed in his concern for his fault.*

There is no going from him diſcontented; for when he cannot grant what is aſked, he anſwers with ſuch courteouſneſs, that even the denial gives pleaſure. An officer of a very long ſtanding having preſented him a petition for employment, he immediately ordered the miniſter of that department to be ſent for; but the latter acquainted the King that there was no vacancy. "You ſee, Sir, "ſaid the King, that, at preſent, it is "not in my power to oblige you; but "let me ſee you again, ſome other time "we may have better luck."

Another of his officers having repreſented that he had impaired his fortune in

in the ſervice, and requeſted an order of a thouſand Louis, that he might be enabled to fit himſelf for the field; it was granted: but a large remittance abroad had drained the treaſury, ſo that the perſon who was to anſwer the order, informed the King there was no money in the treaſury. "Well, ſaid Lewis, I'll "give the gentleman what he deſires, "out of the privy purſe, which is "appropriated to my pleaſures; the "diſtreſs of a good officer ſhould, by "all means, be preferred to a King's "amuſements." Since this affair, he has been known not to play for a whole month together.

An oblique intimation of one's neceſſities ſuffices with him, and he is ſure to prevent them. A brigadier in his army, who had not a competent fortune for his rank, was ſent with an account of an action, in which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Lewis drew a diamond ring from his finger, and gave it him, ſaying it was a family ring, which he had worn for years. The veteran, who wanted money more than jewels, reſpectfully anſwered, that tho' he placed the higheſt value on his Majeſty's preſents, he hoped he ſhould be

allowed to refuſe this, as, if he had this fine ring, it would be impoſſible for him to keep it above four and twenty hours: the King took his meaning, and the next day gave him a ſum of money, above the value of the ring.

To thee, ſuch actions, I know, will appear more heroic than the atchievements of his anceſtors, which have been founded ſo high. Thou wilt perhaps aſk me, how this munificence is reconilceable with the diſtreſs to which his people are reduced: this he knows not a word of; and if he did, he is ſo good, that his concern would ſhorten his days.

A certain diſpoſition of ſecond cauſes, remote in its ſources, has drawn him into a war; and this war, which he believes neceſſary for the welfare of his ſtate, is very burthenſome to his ſubjects. His miniſters, on the other hand, are very induſtrious in concealing the ſituation of affairs from him, or repreſenting them different from what they are. "All "goes very well, Sire; France enjoys a "plenty of every thing, and never were "your people more happy." This is their common talk to him; but from the following paſſage you may judge of the unfor-

unfortunate ſtate to which this Prince is reduced.

England having lately diſpoſſeſſed France of a vaſt continent in North America, the buſineſs was not only to conceal this news from him, but to give it an agreeable turn. The miniſtry applied to the favourite ſlave, who, coming into his apartment with an affected gaiety, ſaid to him; "I bring your Majeſty a "piece of news which cannot but divert "you; you had a barren good-for-no-"thing country in the new-world, the "maintenance of which ran away with "vaſt ſums; and now your wiſe ene-"mies have rid you of it, and taken "the burden on themſelves." It is not unlikely that the Prince ſuſpected the trick, for on this good news he was melancholy and thoughtful all the reſt of the day. He is often acquainted with the like advantages, which the crown of France finds in this war.

In China, the Emperor, as thou haſt obſerved, relies on no body to be informed of the condition of his people. He ſees and hears every thing himſelf; here the King hears and ſees only through his miniſters: there is no acceſs to the throne

for ſubjects; their calamities, their ſufferings and complaints, are ſo remote, that they never reach the Prince, and the people are firmly perſuaded that Lewis XV. has no hand in the public diſtreſſes; for, lamentable as the preſent ſtate of France is, they love him to idolatry.

We heard at Pekin, that a horrible lunatic had made an attempt on his life; you cannot imagine the grief and conſternation which this ſpread throughout the whole kingdom. Never were ſuch emotions ſeen among mankind. On my arrival here, I ſpoke with ſeveral of his ſubjects, who aſſured me that they could neither eat nor drink, till, by the return of the poſt, they had heard that there was no danger of his life.

Thus it is, that, under the beſt Princes, the people ſhall be loaded with diſtreſſes. Lewis is poſſeſſed of all the qualities which do honour to human nature in a Sovereign. He is a good huſband, a good father, a good lover, a good friend, and of irreproachable honour and probity; in a word, he is one of the worthieſt men in his kingdom; his only fault is, being a King. Had his lot been a private

a private ſtation, he would have been as valuable a member as any of the whole ſociety.

LETTER LXXI.

The ſame, to the ſame, at Pekin.

Paris.

AS I have given thee an account of the maſter, I muſt alſo ſay a word about the ſlave: I have ſeen her, but what will ſurpriſe thee more, I have even ſpoke to her; and it is to an inhabitant of the foreſts of China that I owe my acquaintance with her.

I had brought from Pekin a Kni-ki or parrot, of a plumage, it ſeems, never before ſeen in Europe. The ſervant whom I have hired here, uſed commonly to place it on one of the windows of my apartment, facing the ſtreet; and as the creature talked Chineſe, the people ſtopped, to hear a bird, who, as they thought, did not know what it ſaid: the favourite was ſoon informed of this parrot; and all foreign curioſities being her perquiſite, ſhe ſent a genteel ſort of perſon to my lodgings, to take the bird, and bring the owner with him. The perſon intruſted

truſted with this commiſſion, told me this was a fine opportunity of making my fortune; that I might aſk any favour I would of the Marchioneſs; and I, in return, told him that the only favour I had to aſk of her, was to let me have my bird.

However go I muſt; and together with the officer and parrot I went to Verſailles; we alighted at the King's palace, for the ſlave has an apartment in it.

She was at her toilet; and though the apartment was ſmall, it contained the whole monarchy. On one ſide were the Mandarins miniſters of ſtate, on the other the ambaſſadors of foreign courts; near thoſe were the Mandarins biſhops and cardinals, then the generals of armies and marſhals of France. The whole aſſembly was reſpectfully ſtanding, and the favourite ſlave ſat at a looking-laſs; and whilſt a lady of the firſt rank was dreſſing her hair and putting ſome patches on her face, the officers of ſtate were laying before her the important concerns of the monarchy.

Word was no ſooner carried of the Chineſe parrot's being come, than all the grandees, who formed a circle around her,

her, fell back to the right and left, and made a way for me to go up to her.

This ſlave is not what is called in Europe a fine woman; I believe, before her elevation, ſhe might have been claſſed among the pretty; though her empire is now of ſome ſtanding, ſhe is yet young: ſhe would now begin to live, had ſhe not lived at court; her charms are not worn but withered; ſhe may, however, be ſaid, in the main, to have ſtill ſomething pleaſing; her carriage is majeſtic, her ſtature of the talleſt, though inclinable to fleſhineſs; there is a charming ſoftneſs in her eyes; ſhe has a fine complection; the outline of her face is delicately ſhaped, and ſhe has ſomething in her countenance which gives pleaſure. This perhaps may be owing to her rank at court, for nothing heightens a woman's beauty ſo much as a King's favour.

I laid down my pretty Kni-ki at the feet of her toilet, which ſacrifice ſhe returned with a ſlight inclination of her head, and ſomething of a ſmile, an honour which only princes of the blood, or perſons of the firſt rank, receive from her. I have ſince been informed, that if I had been willing to have diſpoſed of that

that ſmile to an ambitious cit, who is ſoliciting her patronage, he would have paid me down an hundred thouſand crowns for it. She even condeſcended to praiſe my bird; at which all the courtiers, who, till then, had ſcarce caſt an eye on it, agreed that it was the prettieſt creature in the univerſe. The favourite played a few moments with it; but a ſervant coming to acquaint her that an extraordinary expreſs was arrived from the army, ſhe immediately went away to the King to read the diſpatches, and give orders according to their contents. All withdrew, and I among the reſt, but without my Kni-ki. I was vexed to my very ſoul at being in a government ſo very deſpotic, that a man who has but one favourite bird, muſt reſign it to a woman that takes a liking to it.

LETTER LXXII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin Miniſter, at* Pekin.

Paris.

THAT the Paris footmen have the impudence to aſſume the names and titles of their maſters, I very well knew, as having ſeen inſtances of it; but that they form a body politic in the ſtate, is what I never ſhould have imagined.

They hold their meetings in little taverns round about the play-houſes, where, while their maſters are ſplitting their ſides with laughing at the fooleries of the actors, they, with a ſerio-comical air, ſettle the affairs of the nation: theſe councils are very reſpectable. The principal clergy appear there in livery; the chief officers of ſtate in motley cloaths, and the grandees in colours. Theſe political rendezvouſes might be called the party-coloured *congreſs*.

I did not know that I lodged near ſo venerable a ſociety till laſt night; being Friday, a great opera-day, I happened to be ſtanding at one of the back windows of my apartment, which opens into

into a very narrow court, with a tavern in it, and ſaw, on the oppoſite ſide, through a balcony, a room full of footmen.

I perceived this company without much minding them, when the waiter coming up to a table near the window which faced mine, addreſſed himſelf to the miſtreſs of the houſe, who was turning over a large book, and ſaid to her with a loud voice, *a pint of wine, Madam, for the Cardinal de Bernis; a bottle of beer for the Duke of Orleans; two pennyworth of cheeſe for the Prince de Soubiſe; and a quartern of brandy for the Archbiſhop of Paris.*

Theſe words drew my attention, and I liſtened to what paſſed in that room, when ſoon after a footman, after looking ſteadily on another, held out his hand, and called to him, Ah! is it thou, Abbé, where in God's name haſt thou been hiding thyſelf? It's an age ſince thou haſt been among us.—I am juſt come from the country, anſwered he, with my maſter the Grand Vicar. Paris is a new place to me, and not a word do I know of what is paſſing in the kingdom; for at Lyons, at Montpelier, or at Toulouſe, the part of the world from whence I am

I am come, they have no other news-paper than the wretched Gazette of Avignon. Well, and what news, continued he, and how goes it with France? Faith, my poor Abbé, never worſe, anſwered the other; there is no government, the monarchy is turned topſy-turvy, nothing but complaints go where you will; every one is ſtriving to pay the taxes, and no body has any money: indeed the calamity is general, ſo that no one has a particular right to clamour; for, to avoid partiality, a tax has even been laid on tavern-ſigns.

And what ſayeſt thou to this confuſion, Duke de Choiſeuil? replied the Abbé, ſpeaking to another footman. I, anſwered the latter, it does not concern me; my department is foreign affairs; if things go well with France abroad, little care I about what is doing at home.

And thou, Count de Saint Florentin, continued he, addreſſing himſelf to a pigmy of a man, with an ill-favoured countenance, what ſayeſt thou to the matter? Neither does that concern me, ſaid the latter; the government of the capital is my province, and my hands are ſo full with it, that I have not time

to think on the ſtate: the kingdom of Paris will not allow me to mind that of France.

The play-houſes are under my care, and the actreſſes alone plague me from morning till night; thoſe huſſies are baiting me perpetually; I proteſt, ſays one, I will not ſing that part; there is nothing engaging in it; the whole of it makes but two inſignificant airs. Another ſtorms, I will riſe above Mademoiſelle Numiere, or never more ſet foot on the ſtage. Beſides, religion being alſo under my inſpection, I have now a heavy weight on my ſhoulders. Since the prieſts have taken it into their heads to mutiny againſt the parliament, I am obliged to be inceſſantly making out *lettres de cachets*. I believe, added he, that the devil is in all our prieſts, for to nobody will they adminiſter *the ſacrament*. They inſiſt that confeſſional notes muſt be produced to them: ſuch folly! a dying man has other things to do, than to make a formal confeſſion.

Now Ber—t—n, continued he, looking at a meager, monkey-faced footman, as thou art comptroller of the finances, let us hear thy atchievements? How go the

finances?—How go they? anſwered this *animated* mummy. They go into Germany. If this holds, the comptroller-ſhip will be very eaſily diſcharged; it will be the eaſieſt poſt in the kingdom, ſo eaſy that a Capuchin will be able to manage it. For theſe three months paſt not a crown has been paid in, and though quite bare of money, I am damned about it from all quarters. My lord, ſays the ſurveyor of the navy, I ſtand in need of an immediate ſupply; money I muſt have, otherwiſe I give you notice that it is all over with our marine. My lord, cries the ſecretary at war, twenty regiments are to be cloathed; here's an account of the charge, and you'll be pleaſed to give an order for the money. My lord, continues a contractor of the victualling office, I want three millions, I muſt have them immediately; if I have them not within a week, the army in Germany may ſtarve for me. Theſe gentlemen, to be ſure, muſt think me made of money, or that I make money.

Gentlemen, interrupted a party-coloured brother, ſo much for the conduct of the miniſtry; that is in every body's mouth; let us talk of our military operations.

rations. How are matters in Germany? They can't well be worſe, anſwered a diſbanded officer, who, two months before, had turned footman. It is but lately I left that army, ſo can talk to the purpoſe of it: never was there ſuch a ſet of wretched blunderers as our generals.

S'blood, interrupted the Archbiſhop of Paris, it is not their fault; it is all owing to the court. Why do they employ generals who nothing of ſieges and battles? church-benefices would ſuit them better; and we might give the commands of the armies to biſhops. Your Grace is in the right, added a footman of the Prince of Conti; moſt of the French officers ſhould be put to ſay maſs, and let the monks and prieſts gird on the ſword; they would make better generals, take my word for it, than thoſe who at preſent command our armies.

Damn your church-gentry, replied a domeſtic of the Prince of Condé; they are as much at a loſs in the field as others. Did not our court t'other day ſend an Abbé to command the troops in Germany, and what were his mighty feats? Did not he get a ſevere drubbing, with the loſs of twelve or fifteen thouſand men?

men? and then he comes away to Verſailles, to acquaint the King, that his knowledge reached no farther. Here a valet of the Prince of Clermont called out, Fair and ſoftly, gentlemen; I was myſelf in that expedition, and well combined it was, ſo that we were confident of giving the enemy a ſmart drubbing; but, unluckily for France, the Abbé de St. Germain des Prez had omitted ſaying his breviary that day.

Gentlemen, ſaid a little man in a uniform, raiſing his voice, I am only an enſign, really reduced by want to relinquiſh my employment, and wait upon a clerk of the court of *Aids*; but let his Majeſty make me general of his German army, I would engage, and give ſecurity for the performance, to take Hanover, and within ſix months to lodge the great-grandſon of the Marquis of Brandenburg in the Caſtle of Vincennes.

Here an old ſervant of Marſhal Belleiſle took up the cudgels: give me leave, Mr. Enſign, to tell you, that is eaſier ſaid than done; the King of Pruſſia is in his own country; he has an army of two hundred thouſand men, which he commands in perſon; and that gives him a

vaſt

vaſt advantage over us. I don't ſay but that he may be reduced, but it muſt be by time and patience. Armies on armies muſt be ſent thither, and freſh troops be continually replacing the former. We never could do any thing in Germany; and all the glory we have acquired there, has been by running away: the only thing which gained France reputation in the North, was the ever famous retreat made by me in the laſt war.

To this fanfaronade a footman of Mail—b— made anſwer: Under favour, Marſhal, thou art a doting old fellow; had I been at the helm, nothing ſhouldſt thou have had to do with the conduct of the war, unleſs ſetting you over the forage. That is all you are fit for: you imagine armies to be like truſſes of hay, which may be replaced by new forage.

My lords, interrupted a politician dreſſed in green, here's the cauſe of all our misfortunes; not a ſingle general have we of any capacity. That is a plant which no longer grows in France. One would think the whole ſpecies of it was loſt; and the great Marſhal Saxe ſeems, at his death, to have ſhut the door of mili-

military glory, and carried away the key with him to his grave.

Really, gentlemen, ſaid another politician, whoſe name I found to be St. Jean, 'tis quite amazing that there ſhould be no heads in the kingdom! But a thought occurs to me: ſince all the male-commanders, whom we have ſent one after another into Germany, have miſcarried, what ſay ye to trying female generals? Two or three ladies with large hoops at the head of our armies, would ſtrike the enemy all of a heap. I have heard that there are irregular thruſts, by which the beſt fencing-maſters are often deceived. The King of Pruſſia would perhaps be put to a ſtand at the ſight of ſuch a commander, ſet off with patches and ribbons. At the very worſt, we could only loſe battles drawn up by a fan, as we loſe thoſe which are conducted by a truncheon: beſides, one hope would be ſtill remaining; for though the King of Pruſſia be not a man of gallantry, he would perhaps be aſhamed to beat a pretty woman, and rather reſign the victory in her favour. Here a coachman, belonging to a Biſhop from Languedoc, ſtopped him ſhort: you know a great deal

of that prince indeed! but I tell you, were the bleſſed Virgin herſelf to give him battle, he would endeavour to trim her; and it would not be his fault if he did not take her priſoner, with a view of getting a large ranſom from Jeſus Chriſt her ſon. This King, in point of heroiſm, would not allow the eternal Father to be his better; he has laid down his plan; he is determined to ruin Europe for the noble pleaſure of being talked of when in his grave.

That's going a great way, ſaid an author's cook, for a little ſhrimp of a crown, whoſe majeſty is under five feet two inches. Gentlemen, continued he, I am by profeſſion a cook; if any power in Europe will give me a handſome reward, I'll engage to poi—— you underſtand me; a word to the wiſe is enough. A German fricaſſée will do the buſineſs, or an Engliſh ragout will be ſtill better; but to make ſure work of it, I would toſs him up a Spaniſh *olio*.

Gentlemen, ſaid a political courier, who hitherto had not opened his mouth, you mind nothing but Germany, the King of Pruſſia is continually before you; yet it is not there that the ſaddle galls;

galls; were we ever ſo ſucceſsful in the North, our affairs would not mend. Land-battles are nothing to us, it is only ſea-victories will ſet us to rights; the main point for France is, to humble the vapouring Britons. And how would you have us cope with England without a fleet, ſaid the high admiral?

That's for thee, Ber—r, ſaid the ſame politician to a ſurly kind of a man, the blame lies at thy door; and, after all, why do you let France be without a navy? That's the way of all you ſchemers, anſwered the other haſtily; you would have us build a fleet of ſhips as eaſily as we raiſe an army of ſoldiers. Great ſchemes are always attended with great obſtacles: for inſtance, I had laid down the fineſt plan for a navy that had ever been formed in France; it was for no leſs than completely building and equipping forty ſhips of the line: I had made proviſion for the guns, ſmall arms, carriages, bullets, balls, ſails, rigging, pitch, tar, anchors, charts, and compaſſes; but, on my giving orders for building the fleet, I found I had forgot the timber. Ber—r, ſaid the ſame orator to him, having been a long time

in the police as commiſſioner for lighting the ſtreets of Paris, you imagined that a ſhip might be built with a few materials, as a lanthorn.

Here they were interrupted by a footman, in a pompadour colour; you are all a parcel of ignoramuſes in politics; as blind as beetles; 'tis only my miſtreſs and I who have the key to the affairs of France——— I know what I mean, and that's enough, I ſhall not declare myſelf any farther: we ſhall ſoon ſee rare doings; not only the time in which we live, but even the moſt remote poſterity, will remember the preſent miniſtry. What! though France has met with ſome rubs in the late campaigns, and the battles in Germany do not ſucceed on our ſide, and though we have loſt four hundred millions of money, and ſix hundred thouſand men, pray could we expend leſs in a war with which we have nothing to do?

But, gentlemen, ſaid the other, who had been all this while ſilent, let me know your reſolution? The opera is near ending, and our maſters will be coming out; before we riſe ſomething muſt be determined concerning the king-

kingdom, otherwiſe our meeting would be no more to the purpoſe than that of Sovereigns, where much is talked of, and nothing concluded. What do you vote for, gentlemen?

I, ſaid the footman of a purveyor-general, am for half a dozen more campaigns, and as many battles, that we may quell the obſtinacy of our enemies.

And how the devil will you go on with the war, replied a footman of the farmer-general, without the pence? All the caſh in the kingdom is in our coffers, and we are determined not to lend the government a ſous without having the crown-jewels in pledge. For as to the King's revenues, they are already dipped for ſeveral years; ſo that it would be dangerous to draw our purſe-ſtrings. The miniſtry indeed has ſtill a reſource, they may ſaddle the people with more taxes, but that cannot turn out to any great matter; the people have nothing leſt; we have drained them of all their radical moiſture; they are as dry as tinder.

Well, gentlemen, ſaid the footman to the great almoner of France, let us then come to a peace. Two or three *mea cul-*

pa's will abſolve us from all our political ſins.

Very well, replied Mr. de Buſ—'s footman, and I'll go myſelf with my maſter to London, and open the negociation. Did ever one hear ſuch a coxcomb! and thy maſter is no better, ſaid a footman of the Duke of Ni—v—n—s: you pretend to ſuch an honour! that Buſſy of thine is too heavy-arſed for ſuch a lofty branch of politics: I'll venture to foretell, that if he is ſent to that court, he'll come back with his fingers in his mouth. My Lord Duke, and his ſecretary Moreau, are the only men to bring ſuch a weighty affair to a happy iſſue. My maſter has brought the court of Rome to liſten to reaſon, and ſo he will the court of London; King George is no better catholic than the Pope; and if the Duke found means to fling the Vatican with all its policy, he will, doubtleſs, be a match for St. James's.

Here a waiter brought word, that the opera was done; this diſſolved the congreſs: all paid their reckonings, lighted their flambeaux, and leaped up behind their maſters coach; only Buſ—'s poor valet, not having wherewith to diſcharge his

his ſhare, which came to five ſous three deniers, remained in pawn till the definitive treaty between the two crowns, when the article of priſoners was to come on the carpet.

LETTER LXXIII.

The ſame, to the Mandarin Hiſtoriographer, at Pekin.

Continuation of the great epochas of Europe.

Paris.

ALL thoſe revolutions had not produced any free ſyſtem; the very municipal governments themſelves groaned under a foreign yoke. Princes infringed on the rights of nations, and the Popes on thoſe of Princes. Religion, on every ſide, oppreſſed the Chriſtians, ſo that Europe was expiring under the weight of its deſpotiſm, when a monk, named Luther, broached ſome religious doubts, which, in general, did not affect fundamentals. His firſt plan extended not to a reformation; but, in almoſt all political and religious concerns, the Europeans go farther

than they intended; he himſelf was quite amazed at the progreſs he had made, and at finding himſelf a reformer, whilſt he had meaned no more than to be an innovator. Soon after him, one Calvin made his appearance, and with no leſs ſucceſs. It muſt be owned that the miniſters of the Chriſtian church themſelves haſtened on a revolution, by the enormous abuſe of their power. All the annals of Europe are full of their oppreſſion: the Popes, and the Biſhops, their repreſentatives, were ſo many execrable tyrants; they joined in the moſt nefarious plots, and not ſeldom were ſeen to act as executioners. The memoirs of Europe mention an Archbiſhop of Upſal, who, with a papal mandate in his hand, cauſed all the ſenate and nobility of Sweden to be maſſacred.

Theſe two innovators, every where, found political liberty jarring with the deſpotiſm of Rome. Obedience to one ſole chief, a blind dependency on only one man, and an unreſerved ſubmiſſion to his decrees, with all the reſt of the arbitrary law of the Popes, was what the obtuſe genius of the northern people could

could not enter into. I find in the annals of this part of the univerſe, that the inhabitants had been ever from time immemorial free. It was they who had formerly broke the fetters of the ſouthern nations, and delivered the world from a general ſervitude, ſubjecting thoſe very Romans, who had ſubjected other nations.

Thoſe people who, by a concatenation of ſecond cauſes ſubordinate to religion, were become ſlaves again, had for ſeveral ages been groaning under a yoke, which their climate urged them to throw off. Had not the two above-mentioned innovators brought about the revolution, other cauſes would have occaſioned it; for when a period pregnant with a change is come, every thing is a help to it.

One evident proof that this change was ſet on foot, rather by a fondneſs for independency than any enthuſiaſm, is, that all the monuments remaining in Europe, of this change of belief, dwell much more on liberty than religion. Nations, whilſt in union with the Pope, conſidered him as Chriſt's vicar, and on their ſeparation from him gave him no better name than Antichriſt; for there is no medium in the

the European opinions, they either worſhip ſuperſtitiouſly, or deſpiſe contumeliouſly.

Another proof that the religion of Rome was ſervile, is, that the ſouth of Europe, which in all times has been the country of ſlaves, did not ſhake off the yoke: Italy, together with other nations that were under a climate, favourable to deſpotiſm, continued in a ſubmiſſive adherence to the Pope.

The firſt of theſe reformers, though he had ſo many other ways, raiſed a clamour about the Pope's making a trade of indulgences and relics. This was a trade which had always been carried on, and hitherto had raiſed only ſome complaints; but now it was made a handle for curtailing their power. The reformation met with ſo little of that prepoſſeſſion, or obſtinacy, ſo conſpicuous in former ſects, that the people referred the choice of their religion to their magiſtrates. Several cities cloſed with the new belief in conformity to a reſolution of their ſenate. Public diſputations were held, where each party produced its arguments, and on theſe was founded the final ſentence. Religion was determined

mined like a common proceſs; the real preſence was condemned. Men tried God.

In every century we meet with a change in the European ſyſtem. Several nations, after ſhaking off the dominion of Rome, ſet up a new plan of government.

The church had ingroſſed almoſt every thing, and now was compelled to refund; or rather, every one was reſtored to his own: the people no longer made any vows, which diſcharged them from their allegiance to their ſovereign; and ſeveral ſtates were no longer incumbered with ſwarms of lounging monks, that is, of folks who make a public profeſſion of doing nothing, and relinquiſhing all ſocial duties for God's ſake.

But it had been decreed, that the Europeans ſhould abuſe every thing. This reformation, from which ſo much good was expected, proved the cauſe of much harm; it kindled dreadful wars; the two ſects became militant; the ſticklers on each ſide turned ſoldiers, the land lay uncultivated, and nothing was minded but fighting.

The hiſtory of theſe religious wars is terrible; there is no reading them without

out ſhuddering: one would think that furies, unheard of, poſſeſſed the Europeans. The Chriſtians cannot now be ſaid to be men, but rather tygers, tearing each other with the moſt cruel animoſity. Chriſtendom is full of demons; all ſacredneſs is overthrown; the law of nations is openly trampled on; and religion ſtifles all the ſentiments of nature: the father has no regard for the ſon, and the ſon ſpurns at the father. Princes now are not ſafe on their throne: ſacrilegious hands, ſtimulated by fanaticiſm, aſſault the perſons of ſovereigns; Kings are aſſaſſinated, becauſe they believe or do not believe what their people believe. Sieges are carried on, and battles fought almoſt continually, with inhuman fury.

Before this revolution, ſome pretence was generally alledged for a war; that is now quite unneceſſary, the Chriſtians have, without any preamble, been fighting ever ſince about the Maſs. It is now above three hundred years, that the Europeans have been cutting one another's throats, from no other motive than a name. A Roman Catholic muſt look on himſelf as bound to be a declared enemy

to

to all Proteſtants. The blood of Chriſt, which the Chriſtians ſay was ſhed to reconcile men with God, to redeem them from their crimes, and promote peace and benevolence, they make a pretence for the moſt horrible wars, and many other abominations.

The tranquillity of Europe ſeems to require, either that all people ſhould be of the Pope's religion, or that there ſhould be no more Pope.

LETTER LXXIV.

The ſame, to the Mandarin Kié-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

Paris.

I Have acquainted thee with the education given to one ſex in this part of Europe, let us now ſee how the other is brought up.

Scarce is a girl born, when meaſures are taken for giving her what is called a good air; at the age of eight years, ſhe is put into a dancing-maſter's hand; he teaches her to hold up her head, to project her breaſt, to walk ſtrait, and turn her

her feet out; thence he proceeds to the minuet. At the ſecond leſſon, the little creature ſtretches out her arms, and her knees almoſt touch the ground; he then teaches her to make two ſteps forward, and as many aſide, and to give her hand with ſo much formality, that it is impoſſible but that ſhe muſt think there is myſtery in touching that of a man.

In theſe exerciſes, ſhe is told, that ſhe muſt perfect herſelf; for if ſhe fails, ſhe muſt not expect a huſband: this article perplexes the child; in the night-time ſhe thinks what this huſband can be, about whom ſhe is talked to ſo much, and for whom ſhe is ſet to learn theſe things ſo very early.

In the mean time, her hair is dreſſed with the utmoſt nicety, her face ſet off with patches, ribbons, and pompoons; and on the other parts of her attire ſo much ſhow and art is beſtowed, that ſhe cannot forbear thinking her apparel means ſomething more than barely covering her.

The allurements of the body being provided for, the talents of the mind are taken in hand: at the age of fourteen ſhe

ſhe has books given her, and it is earneſtly recommended to her, to take a delight in reading; for the Europeans ſuppoſe that there is nothing by which the genius of youth is ſo much improved. There is a numberleſs ſort of them, called romances, which effectually enlarge the imagination, and make the young perſons of the fair ſex very knowing. Theſe romances heat the ſenſes, irritate deſires, and fit the heart, not for tenderneſs, but debauchery. The ſubject of all theſe compoſitions is generally the ſame. Love is the pivot on which they all turn. They are fictions, written by authors of a vitiated mind, and who, having been debauched themſelves, are for ſeeing others in the ſame caſe. The knowledge a girl gets, by ſuch reading, is really prodigious; ſhe knows every thing before nature has taught her: that is, ſhe is corrupted before ſhe has had time to be ſo; for in Europe, where every thing is naturally forward, vice is formed in the ſex, before the conſtitution takes its turn.

With ſuch promiſing diſpoſitions, at the age of ſixteen, or ſeventeen, Miſs is introduced into the world, accompanied by

by a mother, or an aged aunt. In this laſt ſchool it is that ſhe learns the graces of behaviour, that all ſtiffneſs in her carriage wears off; and, eſpecially here, ſhe inures herſelf to be no longer under any uneaſineſs amidſt crowds of men.

You will eaſily conceive that girls, ſo early impregnated with ſuch good principles, muſt of courſe make what is here called *clever ſubjects*; or, to uſe the European expreſſion, *well-behaved women.*

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.